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THE

ORATION OF DEMOSTHENES

ON THE CROWN.

WITH

EXTRACTS FROM THE ORATION OF ÆSCHINES AGAINST  
CTESIPHON, AND EXPLANATORY NOTES.

BY

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“Quid enim tam aut visendum aut audiendum fuit, quam summorum oratorum in gravissima causa accurata et inimicitiis incensa contentio?”

*Cic. de Opt. Gen. Orat.*

FOURTEENTH EDITION.

CHICAGO:

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1904

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TO

JAMES R. BOISE, PH. D., LL. D.,

PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO,

THIS EDITION OF DEMOSTHENES DE CORONA IS GRATEFULLY INSCRIBED,  
AS THE FRUIT OF STUDIES FIRST INSPIRED BY HIS ADMIRABLE  
INSTRUCTION, AND AS A TRIBUTE OF RESPECT FOR  
HIS EMINENT SERVICES IN THE CAUSE  
OF CLASSICAL LEARNING.



## PREFACE.

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THE aim of the present edition of the *De Corona* is threefold: First, to present in the most concise form possible the latest results of study and criticism upon this masterpiece of Athenian oratory, especially as found in the best approved editions of the German scholars. Of all these editions Westermann's and Voemel's have been most freely consulted and used, particularly in points of historical and textual criticism. The text is that of Baiter and Sauppe's *Oratores Attici*, which follows most closely the reading of  $\Sigma$ , the oldest and best of the manuscripts. A few departures from this text are noticed as they occur.

A second aim of this edition is to lead the student to study the oration as a finished rhetorical and literary production. No encouragement is given to such as would make it mainly a vehicle for teaching grammar. The grammatical notes are, therefore, few, referring in the main only to the nature of conditional and to the structure of relative sentences. On the other hand, frequent attention is called to the rhetorical order of words, the emphasis of position, the use of metaphors, the rhythm of diction, and

kindred points in rhetoric. The opportunity for using illustrative material is exceedingly limited in an ordinary text-book ; but the editor hopes that the few specimens of illustration referred to in the Notes may stimulate a more general comparison of Demosthenes with other orators, both ancient and modern.

A third aim, quite akin to the second, is to enable the student to appreciate the oration as a skilful plea and a masterpiece of argumentation. To realize this aim, it is essential that he have some acquaintance with the rival oration of Æschines. But in most of our colleges this oration is not read ; and the student reads a speech that was made as a rejoinder to one of which he has but the slightest, if any, knowledge. To meet this difficulty, in part at least, extracts from the oration of Æschines are appended at the foot of the text to illustrate those points which Demosthenes makes directly in reply to his opponent. The editor has found, upon repeated trial, that such a comparison, almost point for point, of the rival orations, gives new interest and value to the study of the *De Corona*. It has not been thought best to make any comments upon the Æschines, as it would be difficult to fix any limit here. Generally it will be found sufficient for the illustration of the text of Demosthenes, that the pupil simply read these extracts. To supplement them, and to enable the student to follow and compare the chain of argument of each orator throughout its entire length, a brief abstract of the speech of Æschines has been added in an Appendix. The course



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of the argument of Demosthenes can be obtained from the divisions designated in the Notes. The student is recommended to write out for himself a full abstract of this oration. The editor allows himself one or two more suggestions. Let the pupil be required to notice carefully all the references to other parts of the oration, and so learn how certain expressions may often recur, and how the use of a word or phrase in one connection may explain its use in another. In a word, let the Notes be carefully *studied*. The student will find it greatly to his advantage to read, in preparation for the study of this oration, Chapters LXXXIX. and XC. of Grote's "History of Greece." It remains to be added, that, on account of the generally acknowledged spuriousness of the inserted documents, and their irrelevancy to the points under discussion, it has not been thought worth the while to write comments upon more than the first four, — a sufficient number from which to gain some idea of the internal evidence against their genuineness, and to illustrate peculiar and technical uses of words.

The Introduction is substantially taken from Anton Westermann's fourth edition.

While in the midst of my preparation there comes to hand Professor W. S. Tyler's excellent revision of the edition of Holmes. To both the original and the revising editor I have acknowledged repeated indebtedness for notes on the use and meaning of words. Besides the sources already named, my material has been drawn chiefly from

Whiston, Lord Brougham, Professor Larned, Reiske, Schaefer, Dissen, Bremi, Rehdantz, and from Arnold Schaefer's exhaustive work, *Demosthenes und seine Zeit*. I am also under obligations to Professor J. H. Lipsius, of the University of Leipzig, for valuable lectures on this oration. My special thanks are due to my scholarly colleague, Professor Albert H. Pattengill, for valuable suggestions and critical assistance in preparing this work for the press.

I shall esteem it a favor if any one using this book shall call my attention to any error whatsoever.

M. L. D'OUGE.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, January, 1875.

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#### PREFACE TO THE THIRD REVISED EDITION.

IN preparing this edition, references have been made to *Goodwin's New Grammar*, and many suggestions and corrections, kindly offered by teachers and students who have used the earlier editions, have been adopted.

To all who have thus aided me in presenting an improved book, I desire to express my sincere thanks.

M. L. D'OUGE.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, June, 1880.

## INTRODUCTION.



THE news of the defeat at Chæronea excited no small consternation at Athens. In the supposition that Philip would prosecute his victorious career and attack Athens itself, it was determined in all haste to place the city in a better state of defence. The unexpected clemency of Philip in his dealings with the Athenians, and the peace brought about soon after through the agency of Demades, interrupted, it seems, these hurried defensive preparations. But the importance of an extensive and thorough repair of the walls and fortifications had thus been made evident; and before the close of the year 338 a proposal was successfully made by Demosthenes, without exciting opposition, as it appears, from the Macedonian party, that the building of the walls and defences be at once carried forward. The work was apportioned, as usual, by sections among the ten tribes, each of which elected a commissioner (τειχοποιός), as administrator of the funds set apart by the state for this purpose, and as general overseer of the work.

The tribe of Pandionis elected Demosthenes to discharge this trust. Demosthenes expended from his own resources a hundred minas over and above the ten talents given him by the state for this object (cf. *Æsch. c. Ctes.*, §§ 23, 31; *Dem.* § 113, below). This, together with his generous donation to the Theoric Fund (cf. *Dem.* § 113, below), furnished Ctesiphon, his personal friend and supporter, with an opportunity to obtain a public recognition of the general as well as special merits of De-

mosthenes as a citizen and politician. Accordingly, Ctesiphon proposes, in 337 B. C., a decree that the state should honor Demosthenes with a golden crown, not only for these benefactions, "but also especially because he constantly says and does what is for the best interest of the people" (cf. *Æsch.* § 49); furthermore, that the herald should proclaim this crown in the theatre before the assembled Greeks, at the time of the great Dionysia.

The Macedonian faction saw in this proposal only a stroke of policy on the side of the Patriotic party, which party interests bade them thwart at all costs. When, therefore, the Senate brought this proposal, which appears to have passed this body without serious opposition, for confirmation before the Assembly, *Æschines* entered protest, and declared his purpose, under oath (cf. note, § 103, below), to bring a COMPLAINT FOR ILLEGALITY (*γραφὴ παρανόμων*) against the author of the proposal. The immediate sequence of this declaration was the suspension of the bill until this question should be decided. The complaint, according to *Æschines*, § 219, was formally brought prior to the death of Philip, which occurred in July, 336.

In the bill of indictment *Æschines* attacks the legality of the proposal (now a *προβούλευμα*) at two points: (1) that the statement contained therein, that Demosthenes constantly aims in his words and deeds at the best interests of the state, is false, and to insert a false statement in the public documents is forbidden by law (cf. *Æsch.* § 50); (2) that the proposed crowning was a violation of the existing laws in two respects, inasmuch as Demosthenes had not yet given account of the offices for which it was alleged he had deserved so well, and again in that the proclamation was to be made in the theatre at the great Dionysia.

It is plain that Ctesiphon is not the man against whom such a formidable attack must needs be directed. The real antagonist whom *Æschines* wishes to encounter is Demosthenes; the man who for so many years had defiantly opposed him, had



crossed and thwarted all his purposes, had compelled him to enter into a formal defence against a charge of treachery and misconduct in an embassy to Philip, had all along defended the common fatherland against the encroachments and schemes of Macedon ; and who, even when the unavoidable calamity had come, and Athens, in common with the other Greek states, had fallen under the Macedonian sway, had with unwearied strength and unflinching courage devoted himself wholly to the promotion of the welfare of the state. Now, when the influence of the Patriotic party was so greatly crippled by the disastrous result of the late struggle for independence, now was the favorable moment for crushing the hated rival and for annihilating his political existence. Such was the spirit in which Æschines undertook this prosecution. His oration against Ctesiphon is, in point of rhetorical finish, one of the masterpieces of ancient oratory, but in moral tone a detestable abortion, the fruit of blind and unbridled passion. In full measure he pours upon his opponent the accumulated and distilled poison of his party hatred ; every means is legitimate to assuage his thirst for revenge ; not one of the measures of Demosthenes — and he passes them all in review — finds mercy in his sight. Demosthenes, he charges, has crouched before Philip ; has received bribes from every quarter ; the unfortunate peace of Philocrates is of his doing ; to him the unhappy Phocians and Thebans owe their ruin ; in short, all the calamities that have befallen Greece lie at his door, — a caricature which, in its exaggeration, reproves and corrects itself. Thus challenged, Demosthenes cannot have hesitated to enter upon the contest. For, aside from the fact that he was the natural defender of Ctesiphon, and also that even under much less provocation it was not in the nature of an Athenian to let personal injuries go unresented, nothing could have seemed to him more desirable than this opportunity to vindicate publicly his entire political career. Indeed, to destroy the fabric of lies woven by Æschines, there was no need of such powerful elo-

quence as Demosthenes possessed ; there was, however, need of a character as pure and of as great moral dignity as was his to do this with certainty, with confidence in the good cause he espoused, and with success in the face of a credulous, fickle, and excitable populace.

To be sure, *his* oration also, perfect as it is in its structure, has its shadows. Such are the personal assaults upon Æschines, comments upon which are to be found in §§ 129, 258 ff. And here we may not pass by unnoticed the fact that Demosthenes does not always candidly and simply limit himself to the bare statement of facts, especially is this the case when he wishes to expose the weak points of his antagonist's policy or to conceal those of his own ; but, on the contrary, occasionally he gives to his representation a plausible and sophistical coloring. In this, however, he differs in no wise from all his contemporaries ; and, at all events, these sophisms, unjustifiable though they are when taken by themselves, employed in a good cause are not able to weaken at all the impression of truthfulness which the oration produces as a whole.

Unquestionably the weakest part of the defence lay in the answer to the technical and legal points that formed the basis of the indictment. Æschines was too wary a man to enter upon this contest without feeling sure of his ground in at least one respect. The peril of Demosthenes was really this ; that his opponent would argue solely the legal question in the case, and, arguing this successfully, would seriously implicate his political career and ruin his public reputation and influence. Had Æschines limited himself to the illegality of this proposal on the score of Demosthenes's accountability (cf. §§ 112, 119, and notes), there is every reason to believe that Ctesiphon would have been condemned, and Demosthenes would have remained uncrowned. But this did not satisfy the hatred of Æschines. Blinded by his passion for revenge, he weakened the force of his legal argument not only in connecting with it a second

technical question of exceedingly doubtful nature (that of the place of Proclamation), but also in concentrating the strength of his attack upon an examination of the public career of his opponent, in order to prove how unworthy he is in every point of view of the proposed distinction. Thus the legal question falls at once into the background; it is no longer Ctesiphon, but Demosthenes, who is on trial. And Demosthenes does not fail to avail himself of the advantage that is thus offered him; but, placing the legal points in the middle of his speech, to borrow the expression of the old critics, as a good general arranges his weakest troops in the centre of his line of battle, he devotes nearly all his efforts to the refutation of the personal reproaches and charges that were brought against himself.

The trial of this suit did not come off at once, but, according to various authorities (cf. *Æsch.* § 254; *Plut. Dem.*, § 24; *Cic. De opt. gen. orat.*, § 7), was postponed until the latter part of the summer of 330 B. C., a period of at least six years after the indictment was first brought. What occasioned this unparalleled delay is wholly unknown; neither orator makes the slightest allusion to it. Had there been on either side any artful design in this postponement, the opposite party would doubtless have mentioned it in its own favor. The time for renewing the complaint and bringing it to trial was doubtless well chosen; for Alexander's recent victories in the East, and the destruction of the Peloponnesian league by Antipater, the Macedonian general, must have newly elated the partisans of Macedon at Athens, and given *Æschines* and his associates fresh hopes of success in their attack upon Demosthenes.

The fame of the trial and the reputation of the rival orators attracted strangers from all parts of the Hellenic world (cf. note on § 196). *Æschines*, being the prosecutor, spoke first. If the usual custom was followed, Ctesiphon, as the defendant, made the first reply. What this was is unknown; it was probably nothing more than a formal denial of the charge.

The case was closed with the speech of Demosthenes on the defence.

That we possess these orations in the exact form in which they were delivered, no one supposes. But to point out the changes that were introduced in their revision is largely a matter of conjecture. Some of them may at least be inferred in comparing the two orations; especially is this true of the speech of Æschines. Demosthenes, on the one hand, alludes to topics which his opponent has just treated (cf. §§ 95, 238), but which are not found in the oration of Æschines; while, again, the speech of Æschines contains quite a number of points for a reply to which we search Demosthenes in vain. It must not, of course, be expected that Demosthenes would discuss all the statements of his rival, point for point; a few charges in the great number may have escaped his notice, many deserved no attention, and the right to pass by such as were of minor importance was doubtless exercised. But that he should have left unanswered entire portions of the speech of Æschines, as, for example, that in which the latter depicts the last of the four periods into which he divides his rival's public career (cf. Abstract in Appendix), and have passed by in silence those scornful insinuations of Æschines in treating this period, not even noticing them so much as to say that their consideration was wholly irrelevant to the case, — this exceeds all probability.

These considerations lead to the suspicion that Æschines subsequently rewrote his speech, omitting in the revised edition what best suited his purpose (cf. note, § 95), and adding to it parts which in their full extent can no longer be definitely distinguished. This suspicion is fully confirmed in the case of two passages. One of the most common artifices of the ancient orators was the use of what is called *ἵποφορά* or *subjectio*, by which the arguments or illustrations of an opponent are anticipated either as a matter of conjecture or of report, and the attack or defence is thereby made more difficult. Æschines



makes frequent use of this rhetorical artifice ; but in two places, §§ 189, 225, the apparent artifice is really plagiarism. Upon comparing these two passages with § 319 and § 243 of Demosthenes (in which connection they are cited), we find the closest similarity. Now, all due allowance being made for what each orator may have heard in advance of the other's line of argument, through the discussions of their adherents and the reports of talebearers, to suppose that in such unessential and minute respects as the form of an illustration one orator should exactly anticipate the other, is most improbable, not to say impossible. It admits, therefore, of hardly a doubt that Æschines copied both the similes in the passages referred to from the speech of his rival after its publication. Demosthenes, it is believed, published his oration, if not word for word, certainly in substance, as he spoke it, soon after the trial was over ; Æschines, as it appears, published his somewhat later, taking advantage of the earlier publication of his opponent's speech. Could Demosthenes, when he published his own, have had before him the speech of Æschines in its *revised* form, we may suppose that his also would in some points have read differently.

The final issue of the trial makes some atonement for the malice to which it owes its origin. Æschines did not receive a fifth part of the votes, and was accordingly condemned to pay the fine established by law of one thousand drachmas, and to suffer inability ever again to institute a similar suit. His influence and reputation were destroyed ; and unable to endure the sight of the hated victor, he went to Rhodes into voluntary exile. It is related that here he read his speech against Ctesiphon ; and when his Rhodian audience expressed surprise that such a masterly oration should not have gained him the day, he gracefully remarked, "You would cease to wonder, if you had heard Demosthenes."



ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ.



## ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ.



### ΥΠΕΡ ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ.

**Π**ΡΩΤΟΝ μέν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχομαι πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις, ὅσῃν εὐνοίαν ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ τῇ τε πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἔπειθ' ὃ πέρ ἐστι μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐσεβείας τε καὶ δόξης, τοῦτο παραστήσαι τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῖν, μὴ τὸν ἀντίδικον σύμβουλον ποιήσασθαι περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἀκούειν 2

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ÆSCH. IN CTESIPH. 205. οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην ἀξιῶσατε ἀπολογεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὑπευθύνων νόμον πρῶτον καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων δεύτερον, τρίτον δὲ τὸ μέγιστον λέγω, ὡς οὐδὲ ἀξίός ἐστι τῆς δωρεᾶς. εἰ δ' ὑμῶν δέηται συγχωρῆσαι αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς τάξεως τοῦ λόγου, κατεπαγγελλόμενος, ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τῆς ἀπολογίας λύσει τὸ παράνομον, μὴ συγχωρεῖτε, μηδ' ἀγνοεῖθ', ὅτι πάλαισμα τοῦτ' ἐστὶ δικαστηρίου· οὐ γὰρ εἰσαυθὺς ποτε βούλεται πρὸς τὸ παράνομον ἀπολογεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἔχων δίκαιον εἰπεῖν ἐτέρων παρεμβολῇ πραγμάτων εἰς λήθην ὑμᾶς βούλεται τῆς κατηγορίας ἐμβαλεῖν. 206. ὡσπερ



ὕμᾱς ἐμοῦ δεῖ (σχέτλιον γὰρ ἂν εἶη τοῦτό γε) ἀλλὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸν ὄρκον, ἐν ᾧ πρὸς ἅπασιν τοῖς ἄλλοις δικαίοις καὶ τοῦτο γέγραπται, τὸ ὁμοίως ἀμφοῖν ἀκροάσασθαι. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν οὐ μόνον τὸ μὴ προκατεγνωκέναι μηδέν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὴν εὐνοίαν ἴσην ἀποδοῦναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ ἀπολογία, ὡς βεβούληται καὶ προήρηται τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἕκαστος, οὕτως ἔᾶσαι χρῆσασθαι.

- 3 Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἔγωγ' ἐλαττοῦμαι κατὰ τουτουῖ τὸν ἀγῶνα Αἰσχίνου, δύο δ', ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ μεγάλα, ἐν μὲν ὅτι οὐ περὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀγωνίζομαι· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἴσον νῦν ἐμοὶ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐνοίας διαμαρτεῖν καὶ τούτῳ μὴ ἐλεῖν τὴν γραφήν, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μὲν — οὐ βούλομαι δυσχερὲς εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου, οὗτος δ' ἐκ περιουσίας μου κατηγορεῖ. ἕτερον δ', ὃ φύσει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει, τῶν μὲν λαιδοριῶν καὶ

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οὖν ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ὁρᾶτε τοὺς πύκτας περὶ τῆς στάσεως ἀλλήλοις διαγωνιζομένους, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως περὶ τῆς τάξεως αὐτῷ τοῦ λόγου μάχεσθε, καὶ μὴ ἔατε αὐτὸν ἔξω τοῦ παρανόμου περιμίστασθαι, ἀλλ' ἐγκαθήμενοι καὶ ἐνεδρεύοντες ἐν τῇ ἀκροάσει εἰσελαίνετε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς τοῦ πράγματος λόγους, καὶ τὰς ἐκτροπὰς αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων ἐπιτηρεῖτε.

241. Ἄξιον δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τὴν ἀπαιδευσίαν αὐτῶν θεωρῆσαι. εἰ γὰρ τολμήσει Κτησιφῶν μὲν Δημοσθένην παρακαλεῖν λέξοντα εἰς ὑμᾶς, οὗτος δ' ἀναβὰς ἑαυτὸν ἐγκωμιάσει, βαρύτερον τῶν ἔργων ὧν πεπόνθατε τὸ ἀκρόαμα γίγνεται. ὅπου γὰρ δὴ τοὺς

τῶν κατηγοριῶν ἀκούειν ἠδέως, τοῖς ἐπαινοῦσι δ' αὐτοὺς ἄχθεσθαι· τούτων τοίνυν ὁ μὲν ἐστὶ πρὸς 4 ἡδονήν, τούτῳ δέδοται, ὁ δὲ πᾶσιν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἐνοχλεῖ, λοιπὸν ἐμοί. κἂν μὲν εὐλαβούμενος τοῦτο μὴ λέγω τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐμαυτῷ, οὐκ ἔχειν ἀπολύσασθαι τὰ κατηγορημένα δόξω οὐδ' ἐφ' οἷς ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι δεικνύναι· ἐὰν δ' ἐφ' ἃ καὶ πεποίηκα καὶ πεπολίτευμαι βαδίζω, πολλάκις λέγειν ἀναγκασθήσομαι περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ. πειράσομαι μὲν οὖν ὡς μετριώτατα τοῦτο ποιεῖν· ὅ τι δ' ἂν τὸ πρᾶγμα αὐτὸ ἀναγκάζῃ, τούτου τὴν αἰτίαν οὗτός ἐστι δίκαιος ἔχειν ὁ τοιοῦτον ἀγῶνα ἐνστησάμενος.

Οἶμαι δ' ὑμᾶς πάντας, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἂν 5 ὁμολογήσαι κοινὸν εἶναι τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐμοὶ καὶ Κτησιφῶντι καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλάττονος ἄξιον σπουδῆς ἐμοί· πάντων μὲν γὰρ ἀποστειρεῖσθαι λυπηρὸν ἐστὶ καὶ χαλεπὸν, ἄλλως τε κἂν ὑπ' ἐχθροῦ τῷ τοῦτο συμβαίῃη, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν

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μὲν ὄντως ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς, οἷς πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ σύνισμεν ἔργα, ἐὰν τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπαίνους λέγωσιν, οὐ φέρομεν· ὅταν δὲ ἄνθρωπος αἰσχύνῃ τῆς πόλεως γεγονὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐγκωμιάζῃ, τίς ἂν τὰ τοιαῦτα καρτερήσκειν ἀκούων;

210. ὅλως δὲ τί τὰ δάκρυα; τίς ἢ κραυγή; τίς ὁ τόνος τῆς φωνῆς; οὐχ ὁ μὲν τὴν γραφὴν φεύγων ἐστὶ Κτησιφῶν, ὁ δ' ἀγὼν οὐκ ἀτίμητος, σὺν δ' οὔτε περὶ τῆς οὐσίας οὔτε περὶ τοῦ σώματος οὔτε περὶ τῆς ἐπιτιμίας ἀγωνίζει; ἀλλὰ περὶ τίνος ἐστὶν αὐτῷ ἡ σπουδή; περὶ χρυσῶν στεφάνων καὶ κληρυμάτων ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους.

εὐνοίας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας, ὅσῳ περ καὶ τὸ τυχεῖν  
 6 τούτων μέγιστόν ἐστιν. περὶ τούτων δ' ὄντος  
 τουτουὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος, ἀξιῶ καὶ δέομαι πάντων  
 ὁμοίως ὑμῶν ἀκοῦσαί μου περὶ τῶν κατηγορη-  
 μένων ἀπολογουμένου δικαίως, ὥσπερ οἱ νόμοι  
 κελεύουσιν, οὓς ὁ τιθεὶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς Σόλων, εὖνους  
 ὦν ὑμῖν καὶ δημοτικός, οὐ μόνον τῷ γράψαι κυρί-  
 ους ᾤετο δεῖν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τοὺς δικάζοντας  
 7 ὁμωμοκέναι, οὐκ ἀπιστῶν ὑμῖν, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ φαί-  
 νεται, ἀλλ' ὁρῶν ὅτι τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τὰς διαβολάς,  
 αἷς ἐκ τοῦ πρότερος λέγειν ὁ διώκων ἰσχύει, οὐκ  
 ἔνι τῷ φεύγοντι παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τῶν δικαζόντων  
 ἕκαστος ὑμῶν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν  
 φυλάττων καὶ τὰ τοῦ λέγοντος ὕστερον δίκαια  
 εὐνοϊκῶς προσδέξεται, καὶ παρασχὼν ἑαυτὸν ἴσον  
 καὶ κοινὸν ἀμφοτέροις ἀκροατῆν, οὕτω τὴν διά-  
 γνωσιν ποιήσεται περὶ ἀπάντων.

8 Μέλλων δὲ τοῦ τε ἰδίου βίου παντός, ὡς ἔοικε,  
 λόγον διδόναι τήμερον καὶ τῶν κοινῇ πεπολιτευ-  
 μένων, βούλομαι πάλιν τοὺς θεοὺς παρακαλέσαι,  
 καὶ ἐναντίον ὑμῶν εὐχομαι πρῶτον μὲν, ὅσῃν  
 εὐνοίαν ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ τῇ τε πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν  
 ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι εἰς τουτουὶ τὸν ἀγῶ-  
 να, ἔπειθ' ὅ τι μέλλει συνοίσειν καὶ πρὸς εὐδο-  
 ξίαν κοινῇ καὶ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἐκάστῳ, τοῦτο  
 παραστήσαι πᾶσιν ὑμῖν περὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς γρα-  
 φῆς γνῶναι.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν περὶ ὧν ἐδίωκε μόνον κατηγορήσεν 9  
 Αἰσχίνης, καὶ γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ προβουλεύματος  
 εὐθύς ἂν ἀπελογούμην· ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐκ ἐλάττω  
 λόγον τᾶλλα διεξιὼν ἀνήλωκε καὶ τὰ πλείεστα  
 κατεψεύσατό μου, ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι νομίζω καὶ  
 δίκαιον ἅμα βραχέει, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περὶ  
 τούτων εἰπεῖν πρῶτον, ἵνα μηδεὶς ὑμῶν τοῖς ἔξω-  
 θεν λόγοις ἡγμένος ἀλλοτριώτερον τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς  
 γραφῆς δικαίων ἀκούῃ μου.

Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἰδίων ὅσα λοιδορούμενος βε- 10  
 βλασφήμηκε περὶ ἐμοῦ, θεάσασθε ὡς ἀπλᾶ καὶ  
 δίκαια λέγω. εἰ μὲν ἴστε με τοιοῦτον οἷον οὗτος  
 ἡγιάτο (οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοθί που βεβίωκα ἢ παρ' ὑμῖν),  
 μηδὲ φωνὴν ἀνάσχησθε, μηδ' εἰ πάντα τὰ κοινὰ  
 ὑπέρευ πεπολίτευμαι, ἀλλ' ἀναστάντες καταψηφί-  
 σασθε ἤδη· εἰ δὲ πολλῶ βελτίω τούτου καὶ ἐκ  
 βελτιόνων, καὶ μηδενοῦ τῶν μετρίων, ἵνα μηδὲν  
 ἐπαχθὲς λέγω, χείρονα καὶ ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς  
 ὑπειλήφατε καὶ γινώσκετε, τούτῳ μὲν μηδ' ὑπὲρ  
 τῶν ἄλλων πιστεύετε (δῆλον γὰρ ὡς ὁμοίως ἅπαντ'  
 ἐπλάττετο), ἐμοὶ δ', ἦν παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον  
 εὐνοίαν ἐνδέδειχθε ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἀγώνων τῶν πρό- 11  
 τερον, καὶ νυνὶ παράσχεσθε. κακοήθης δ' ὢν,  
 Αἰσχίνη, τοῦτο παντελῶς εὐήθης ᾤήθης, τοὺς περὶ  
 τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ πεπολιτευμένων λόγους  
 ἀφέντα με πρὸς τὰς λοιδορίας τὰς παρὰ σοῦ τρέ-  
 ψεσθαι. οὐ δὴ ποιήσω τοῦτο· οὐχ οὕτω τετύ-

φωμαι· ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἅ κατεψεύδου καὶ διέβαλλες, ἐξετάσω, τῆς δὲ πομπείας ταύτης τῆς ἀνέδην γεγενημένης ὕστερον, ἂν βουλομένοις ἀκούειν ἢ τουτοισί, μνησθήσομαι.

- 12 Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατηγορημένα πολλά, καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐνίων μεγάλας καὶ τὰς ἐσχάτας οἱ νόμοι διδόασι τιμωρίας· τοῦ δὲ παρόντος ἀγῶνος ἡ προαίρεσις αὕτη· ἐχθροῦ μὲν ἐπήρεια ἔχει καὶ ὕβριν καὶ λοιδορίαν καὶ προπηλακισμόν ὁμοῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα, τῶν μέντοι κατηγοριῶν καὶ τῶν αἰτιῶν τῶν εἰρημένων, εἴ περ ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς, οὐκ ἔνι τῇ
- 13 πόλει δίκην ἀξίαν λαβεῖν, οὐδ' ἐγγύς. οὐ γὰρ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι δεῖ τὸ προσελθεῖν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ λόγου τυχεῖν, οὐδ' ἐν ἐπηρείας τάξει καὶ φθόνου τοῦτο ποιεῖν· οὔτε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ὀρθῶς ἔχον οὔτε πολιτικὸν οὔτε δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς ἀδικοῦντά με ἑώρα τὴν πόλιν, οὐσί γε τηλικούτοις ἡλίκα νῦν ἐτραγώδει καὶ διεξήγει, ταῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίαις παρ' αὐτὰ τὰδικήματα χρῆσθαι, εἰ μὲν εἰσαγγελίας ἄξια πράττοντά με ἑώρα, εἰσαγγέλλοντα καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον εἰς κρίσιν καθιστάντα παρ' ὑμῖν, εἰ δὲ γράφοντα παράνομα, παρανόμων γραφόμενον· οὐ γὰρ δήπου Κτησιφῶντα μὲν δύναται διώκειν δι' ἐμέ, ἐμὲ δέ, εἴ περ ἐξελέγχειν ἐνόμιζεν, αὐτὸν
- 14 οὐκ ἂν ἐγράφατο. καὶ μὴν εἴ τι τῶν ἄλλων ὧν γυνὴ διέβαλλε καὶ διεξήγει ἢ καὶ ἄλλ' ὅτιοῦν ἀδι-



κοῦντά με ὑμᾶς ἑώρα, εἰσὶ νόμοι περὶ πάντων καὶ τιμωρίαι καὶ ἀγῶνες καὶ κρίσεις, καὶ τούτοις ἐξῆν ἅπασι χρῆσθαι, καὶ ὀπηνίκα ἐφαίνετο ταῦτα πεποιηκῶς καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον κεχρημένος τοῖς πρὸς ἐμέ, ὠμολογεῖτο ἂν ἡ κατηγορία τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. νῦν δ' ἐκστάς τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας ὁδοῦ 15 καὶ φυγῶν τοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἐλέγχους, τοσοῦτοις ὕστερον χρόνοις αἰτίας καὶ σκώμματα καὶ λαιδορίας συμφορήσας ὑποκρίνεται. εἶτα κατηγορεῖ μὲν ἐμοῦ, κρίνει δὲ τουτονί, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀγῶνος ὅλου τὴν πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔχθραν προΐσταται, οὐδαμοῦ δ' ἐπὶ ταύτην ἀπηνητηκῶς ἐμοὶ τὴν ἑτέρου ζητῶν ἐπιτιμίαν ἀφελέσθαι φαίνεται. καίτοι 16 πρὸς ἅπασιν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς ἂν εἰπεῖν τις ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος ἔχοι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ καὶ μάλ' εἰκότως ἂν λέγειν, ὅτι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἔχθρας ἡμᾶς ἐφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν δίκαιον ἦν τὸν ἐξετασμὸν ποιεῖσθαι, οὐ τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγωνίζεσθαι παραλείπειν, ἑτέρω δ' ὄτω κακόν τι δώσομεν ζητεῖν· ὑπερβολὴ γὰρ ἀδικίας τοῦτό γε.

Πάντα μὲν τοίνυν τὰ κατηγορημένα ὁμοίως ἐκ 17 τούτων ἂν τις ἴδοι οὔτε δικαίως οὔτ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας

54. Περὶ δὲ τῶν δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων πειράσομαι σαφέστερον εἰπεῖν. καὶ γὰρ πυνθάνομαι μέλλειν Δημοσθένην, ἐπειδὴν αὐτοῖς ὁ λόγος ἀποδοθῆ, καταριθμείσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὡς ἄρα τῇ πόλει τέτταρες ἤδη γεγένηται καιροὶ, ἐν οἷς αὐτὸς πεπολίτευται.

οὐδεμιᾶς εἰρημένα · βούλομαι δὲ καὶ καθ' ἕνα στον αὐτῶν ἐξετάσαι, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅσα ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς πρεσβείας κατεψεύσατό μου, τὰ πεπραγμένα ἑαυτῷ μετὰ Φιλοκράτους ἀνατιθείς ἐμοί. ἔστι δ' ἀναγκαῖον, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ προσῆκον ἴσως, ὡς κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους εἶχε τὰ πράγματα ἀναμνησαι, ἵνα πρὸς τὸν ὑπάρχοντα καιρὸν ἕκαστα θεωρῆτε.

- 18 Τοῦ γὰρ Φωκικοῦ συστάντος πολέμου, οὐ δι' ἐμέ (οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἔγωγε ἐπολιτευόμην πω τότε), πρῶτον μὲν ὑμεῖς οὕτω διέκεισθε ὥστε Φωκέας μὲν βούλεσθαι σωθῆναι, καίπερ οὐ δίκαια ποι-

ῶν ἕνα μὲν καὶ πρῶτον, ὡς ἔγωγε ἀκούω, καταλογίζεται ἐκείνων τὸν χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ πρὸς Φίλιππον ὑπὲρ Ἀμφιπόλεως ἐπολεμοῦμεν· τοῦτον δ' ἀφορίζειται τῇ γενομένῃ εἰρήνῃ καὶ συμμαχίᾳ, ἣν Φιλοκράτης ὁ Ἀγνούσιος ἔγραψε καὶ αὐτὸς οὗτος μετ' ἐκείνου, ὡς ἐγὼ δείξω. 55. δεύτερον δὲ φησι γενέσθαι ὃν ἤγομεν χρόνον τὴν εἰρήνην, δηλονότι μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης, ἐν ᾗ καταλύσας τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν εἰρήνην τῇ πόλει ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος ῥήτωρ ἔγραψε τὸν πόλεμον· τρίτον δὲ ὃν ἐπολεμοῦμεν χρόνον μέχρι τῆς ἀτυχίας τῆς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ, τέταρτον δὲ τὸν νῦν παρόντα καιρὸν. 60. εἴ τινες ὑμῶν ἐκ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνων ἤκουσιν οἴκοθεν τοιαύτην ἔχοντες τὴν δόξαν, ὡς ἄρα ὁ Δημοσθένης οὐδὲν πώποτε εἴρηκεν ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου συστάς μετὰ Φιλοκράτους, — ὅστις οὕτω διακείται, μήτ' ἀπογνώτω μηδὲν μήτε καταγνώτω, πρὶν ἂν ἀκούσῃ· οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον. ἀλλ' εἰ ἐμοῦ διὰ βραχέων ἀκούσητε ὑπομνησκόντος τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα παρεχομένου, ὃ μετὰ Φιλοκράτους ἔγραψε Δημοσθένης, εἰάν αὐτὸς ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας λογισμὸς ἐγκαταλαμβάνῃ τὸν Δημοσθένην πλείω μὲν γεγραφότα ψήφισματα Φιλοκράτους περὶ τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰρήνης καὶ συμμαχίας,

οὔντας ὀρώντες, Θηβαίοις δ' ὅτιοῦν ἂν ἐφησθῆναι  
 παθοῦσιν, οὐκ ἀλόγως οὐδ' ἀδίκως αὐτοῖς ὀργιζό-  
 μενοι· οἷς γὰρ εὐτυχῆκεσαν ἐν Λεύκτροις, οὐ  
 μετρίως ἐκέχρητο· ἔπειθ' ἡ Πελοπόννησος ἅπα-  
 σα διειστήκει, καὶ οὐθ' οἱ μισοῦντες Λακεδαιμο-  
 νίους οὕτως ἴσχυον ὥστε ἀνελεῖν αὐτούς, οὐθ' οἱ  
 πρότερον δι' ἐκείνων ἄρχοντες κύριοι τῶν πόλεων  
 ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ τις ἦν ἄκριτος καὶ παρὰ τούτοις καὶ  
 παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἔρις καὶ ταραχή. ταῦτα 19  
 δ' ὀρών ὁ Φίλιππος (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀφανῆ) τοῖς παρ'  
 ἐκάστοις προδόταις χρήματα ἀναλίσκων πάντας  
 συνέκρουε καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐτάραττεν· εἶτ' ἐν οἷς  
 ἡμάρτανον ἄλλοι καὶ κακῶς ἐφρόνου, αὐτὸς πα-  
 ρεσκευάζετο καὶ κατὰ πάντων ἐφύετο. ὡς δὲ τα-  
 λαιπωρούμενοι τῷ μήκει τοῦ πολέμου οἱ τότε μὲν  
 βαρεῖς νῦν δ' ἀτυχεῖς Θηβαῖοι φανεροὶ πᾶσιν  
 ἦσαν ἀναγκασθησόμενοι καταφεύγειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς,  
 Φίλιππος, ἵνα μὴ τοῦτο γένοιτο μηδὲ συνέλθοιεν  
 αἱ πόλεις, ὑμῖν μὲν εἰρήνην ἐκείνοις δὲ βοήθειαν  
 ἐπηγγείλατο. τί οὖν συνηγωνίσασαο αὐτῷ πρὸς 20  
 τὸ λαβεῖν ὀλίγου δεῖν ὑμᾶς ἐκόντας ἐξαπατωμέ-  
 νους; ἢ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, εἴτε χρῆ κακίαν  
 εἶτ' ἄγνοιαν εἴτε καὶ ἀμφότερα ταῦτ' εἶπεῖν, οἱ  
 πόλεμον συνεχῆ καὶ μακρὸν πολεμούντων ὑμῶν,  
 καὶ τοῦτον ὑπὲρ τῶν πᾶσι συμφερόντων, ὡς ἔργῳ  
 φανερὸν γέγονεν, οὔτε χρήμασιν οὔτε σώμασιν  
 οὔτ' ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀπάντων συνελάμβανον

ὑμῖν· οἷς καὶ δικαίως καὶ προσηκόντως ὀργιζό-  
 μενοι ἐτοίμως ὑπηκούσατε τῷ Φιλίππῳ. ἡ μὲν  
 οὖν τότε συγχωρηθεῖσα εἰρήνη διὰ ταῦτ', οὐ δι'  
 ἐμέ, ὡς οὗτος διέβαλλεν, ἐπράχθη· τὰ δὲ τούτων  
 ἀδικήματα καὶ δωροδοκήματα ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν νυνὶ  
 παρόντων πραγμάτων, ἂν τις ἐξετάζη δικαίως,  
 21 αἷτια εὐρήσει. καὶ ταυτὶ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀλη-  
 θείας ἀκριβολογοῦμαι καὶ διεξέρχομαι. εἰ γὰρ  
 εἶναί τι δοκοίη τὰ μάλιστα ἐν τούτοις ἀδίκημα,  
 οὐδέν ἐστι δήπου πρὸς ἐμέ, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν πρῶτος  
 εἰπὼν καὶ μνησθεὶς ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης Ἀριστό-

62. Ἐγραψε Φιλοκράτης ἐξεῖναι Φιλίππῳ δεῦρο κήρυκα καὶ  
 πρέσβεις πέμπειν περὶ εἰρήνης· τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἐγράφη  
 παρανόμων. ἦγον οἱ τῆς κρίσεως χρόνοι· κατηγορεῖ μὲν Λυκί-  
 νος ὁ γραψάμενος, ἀπελογεῖτο δὲ Φιλοκράτης, συναπελογεῖτο  
 δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένης· ἀπέφυγε Φιλοκράτης. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπήει  
 (χρόνος) Θεμιστοκλῆς ἄρχων· ἐνταῦθ' εἰσέρχεται βουλευτῆς εἰς  
 τὸ βουλευτήριον Δημοσθένης, οὔτε λαχὼν οὔτ' ἐπιλαχὼν, ἀλλ'  
 ἐκ παρασκευῆς πριάμενος, ἵν' εἰς ὑποδοχὴν ἅπαντα καὶ λέγοι  
 καὶ πράττοι Φιλοκράτει, ὡς αὐτὸ ἔδειξε τὸ ἔργον. 63. νικᾷ  
 γὰρ ἕτερον ψήφισμα Φιλοκράτης, ἐν ᾧ κελεύει ἐλέσθαι δέκα  
 πρέσβεις, οἵτινες ἀφικόμενοι πρὸς Φίλιππον ἀξιώσουσιν αὐτὸν  
 δεῦρο πρέσβεις αὐτοκράτορας πέμπειν ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης. Τού-  
 των εἰς ἣν Δημοσθένης. Κακέϊθεν ἐπανήκων ἐπαινέτης ἦν τῆς  
 εἰρήνης, καὶ ταῦτὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις πρέσβεσιν ἀπήγγειλε, καὶ μόνος  
 τῶν βουλευτῶν ἔγραψε σπείσασθαι τῷ κήρυκι τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ Φι-  
 λίππου καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν, ἀκόλουθα γράφων Φιλοκράτει·  
 ὁ μὲν γε τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκε τοῦ δεῦρο κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις  
 πέμπεσθαι, ὁ δὲ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ σπένδεται. 64. Τὰ δὲ μετὰ  
 ταῦτα ἤδη σφόδρα μοι τὸν νοῦν προσέχετε. Ἐπράττετο γὰρ  
 οὐ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους πρέσβεις τοὺς πολλὰ συκοφαντηθέντας



δημος ἦν ὁ ὑποκριτής, ὁ δ' ἐκδεξάμενος καὶ γράψας καὶ ἑαυτὸν μετὰ τούτου μισθώσας ἐπὶ ταῦτα Φιλοκράτης ὁ Ἀγνούσιος, ὁ σός, Αἰσχίνη, κοινωνός, οὐχ ὁ ἐμός, οὐδ' ἂν σὺ διαρραγῆς ψευδόμενος, οἱ δὲ συνειπόντες ὅτου δήποτε ἔνεκα (ἐὼ γὰρ τοῦτό γ' ἐν τῷ παρόντι) Εὐβουλος καὶ Κηφισοφῶν· ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ. ἀλλ' ὅμως, τούτων τοιοῦτων ὄντων καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας οὕτω δεικνυμένων, εἰς τοῦθ' ἦκεν ἀναιδείας, ὥστ' ἐτόλμα λέγειν ὡς ἄρα ἐγὼ πρὸς τῷ τῆς εἰρήνης αἴτιος γεγενῆσθαι καὶ κεκωλυκῶς εἶην τὴν πόλιν μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων ταύτην ποιή-

ὔστερον ἐκ μεταβολῆς ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Φιλοκράτην καὶ Δημοσθένην, εἰκότως, τοὺς ἅμα μὲν πρεσβεύοντους, ἅμα δὲ τὰ ψηφίσματα γράφοντας, πρῶτον μὲν ὅπως μὴ περιμείνητε τοὺς πρέσβεις οὓς ἦτε ἐκπεπομφότες παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ Φίλιππον, ἵνα μὴ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ ποιήσησθε τὴν εἰρήνην. 68. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἦκον οἱ Φιλίππου πρέσβεις· οἱ δὲ ὑμέτεροι ἀπεδήμουν παρακαλοῦντες τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐπὶ Φίλιππον. Ἐνταῦθ' ἕτερον ψήφισμα νικᾷ Δημοσθένης, ἐν ᾧ γράφει μὴ μόνον ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμμαχίας ὑμᾶς βουλευσασθαι, μὴ περιμείναντας τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς ὑμέτερους. 72. Οὐ γὰρ ἔφη δεῖν (καὶ γὰρ τὸ ῥῆμα μέμνημαι ὡς εἶπε, διὰ τὴν ἀηδῖαν τοῦ λέγοντος ἅμα καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος), ἀπορρῆξαι τῆς εἰρήνης τὴν συμμαχίαν, οὐδὲ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀναμένειν μελλήματα, ἀλλ' ἢ πολεμεῖν αὐτοὺς ἢ τὴν εἰρήνην ἰδίᾳ ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ τελευτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα παρακάλεσας Ἀντίπατρον ἐρώτημά τι ἠρώτα, προειπὼν μὲν ἃ ἐρήσεται, προδιδάξας δὲ ἃ χρὴ κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀποκρίνασθαι. Καὶ τέλος ταῦτ' ἐνίκα, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ προβιασαμένου Δημοσθένους, τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα γράψαντος Φιλοκράτους.



σασθαι. εἴτ' ὦ — τί ἂν εἰπὼν σέ τις ὀρθῶς προσ-  
 εῖποι; ἔστιν ὅπου σὺ παρών, τηλικαύτην πρᾶ-  
 ξιν καὶ συμμαχίαν, ἡλικὴν νυνὶ διεξήεις, ὀρῶν  
 ἀφαιρούμενόν με τῆς πόλεως ἠγανάκτησας ἢ παρ-  
 ἔλθων ταῦτα ἅ νυνὶ κατηγορεῖς ἐδίδαξας καὶ  
 23 διεξήλθες; καὶ μὴν εἰ τὸ κωλύσαι τὴν τῶν Ἑλ-  
 λήνων κοινωνίαν ἐπεπράκειν ἐγὼ Φιλίππῳ, σοὶ τὸ  
 μὴ σιγῆσαι λοιπὸν ἦν, ἀλλὰ βοᾶν καὶ διαμαρτύ-  
 ρεσθαι καὶ δηλοῦν τουτοισί. οὐ τοίνυν ἐποίησας  
 οὐδαμοῦ τοῦτο, οὐδ' ἠκούσέ σου ταύτην τὴν φω-  
 νὴν οὐδεὶς· οὔτε γὰρ ἦν πρεσβεία πρὸς οὐδένα  
 ἀπεσταλμένη τότε τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ πάσαι πάν-  
 τες ἦσαν ἐξεληλεγμένοι, οὔθ' οὔτος ὑγιὲς περὶ  
 24 τούτων εἶρηκεν οὐδέν. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων καὶ δια-  
 βάλλει τὴν πόλιν τὰ μέγιστα ἐν οἷς ψεύδεται· εἰ  
 γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἅμα τοὺς μὲν Ἑλληνας εἰς πόλεμον  
 παρεκαλεῖτε, αὐτοὶ δὲ πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ τῆς  
 εἰρήνης πρέσβεις ἐπέμπετε, Εὐρυβάτου πρᾶγμα,  
 οὐ πόλεως ἔργον οὐδὲ χρηστῶν ἀνθρώπων διε-  
 πράττεσθε. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔστιν·  
 τί γὰρ καὶ βουλόμενοι μετεπέμπεσθ' ἂν αὐτοὺς  
 ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ; ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην; ἀλλ'  
 ὑπῆρχεν ἅπασιν. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον; ἀλλ'  
 αὐτοὶ περὶ εἰρήνης ἐβουλεύεσθε. Οὐκ οὔτε  
 τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰρήνης ἠγεμῶν οὐδ' αἴτιος ὢν ἐγὼ  
 φαίνομαι, οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων ὢν κατεφεύσατό μου  
 οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ὃν δείκνυται.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐποιήσατο τὴν εἰρήνην ἢ πόλις, 25  
 ἐνταῦθα πάλιν σκέψασθε τί ἡμῶν ἐκάτερος προ-  
 εἶλετο πράττειν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τούτων εἴσεσθε τίς  
 ἦν ὁ Φιλίππῳ πάντα συναγωνιζόμενος, καὶ τίς ὁ  
 πράττων ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον  
 ζητῶν. ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν ἔγραψα βουλευῶν ἀπο-  
 πλεῖν τὴν ταχίστην τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τοὺς τό-  
 πους, ἐν οἷς ἂν ὄντα Φίλιππον πυθάνωνται, καὶ  
 τοὺς ὄρκους ἀπολαμβάνειν· οὗτοι δὲ οὐδὲ γρά-  
 ψαντος ἐμοῦ ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἠθέλησαν. τί δὲ τοῦτ' 26  
 ἡδύνατο, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι; ἐγὼ διδάξω. Φι-  
 λίππῳ μὲν ἦν συμφέρον ὡς πλεῖστον τὸν μεταξὺ  
 χρόνον γενέσθαι τῶν ὄρκων, ὑμῖν δ' ὡς ἐλάχι-  
 στον. διὰ τί; ὅτι ὑμεῖς μὲν οὐκ ἀφ' ἧς ὠμόσατε  
 ἡμέρας μόνον, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἧς ἠλπίσατε τὴν εἰρήνην  
 ἔσεσθαι, πάσας ἐξελύσατε τὰς παρασκευὰς τὰς  
 τοῦ πολέμου, ὁ δὲ τοῦτο ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου  
 μάλιστα ἐπραγματεύετο, νομίζων, ὅπερ ἦν ἀλη-  
 θές, ὅσα τῆς πόλεως προλάβοι πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς  
 ὄρκους ἀποδοῦναι, πάντα ταῦτα βεβαίως ἔξειν·  
 οὐδένα γὰρ τὴν εἰρήνην λύσειν τούτων ἔνεκα.  
 Ἄ ἐγὼ προορώμενος, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ λογι- 27  
 ζόμενος τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο γράφω, πλεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 τόπους ἐν οἷς ἂν ᾗ Φίλιππος, καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους τὴν

82. οὗτός ἐστιν, ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὁ πρῶτος ἐξευρῶν Σέρριον τεῖχος καὶ Δορίσκον καὶ Ἐργίσκην καὶ Μυρτίσκην καὶ Γάνος καὶ Γανίδα, χωρία, ὧν οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα ἤδειμεν πρότερον.

ταχίστην ἀπολαμβάνειν, ἕν' ἐχόντων τῶν Θρακῶν, τῶν ὑμετέρων συμμάχων, ταῦτα τὰ χωρία ἅ νῦν οὗτος διέσυρε, τὸ Σέρριον καὶ τὸ Μυρτηνὸν καὶ τὴν Ἐργίσκην, οὕτω γίγνοιθ' οἱ ὄρκοι, καὶ μὴ προλαβὼν ἐκείνος τοὺς ἐπικαίρους τῶν τόπων κύριος τῆς Θράκης κατασταίῃ, μηδὲ πολλῶν μὲν χρημάτων πολλῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν εὐπορήσας ἐκ τούτων ῥαδίως τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπιχειροῖη πράγμα-  
 28 σιν. εἶτα τοῦτο μὲν οὐχὶ λέγει τὸ ψήφισμα, οὐδ' ἀναγιγνώσκει· εἰ δὲ βουλευῶν ἐγὼ προσάγειν τοὺς πρέσβεις ᾧ μὴν δεῖν, τοῦτό μου διαβάλλει. ἀλλὰ τί ἐχρῆν με ποιεῖν; μὴ προσάγειν γράψαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦθ' ἤκοντας, ἕν' ὑμῖν διαλεχθῶσιν; ἢ θεῶν μὴ κατανεῖμαι τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτοῖς κελεύσαι; ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν ἐθεώρουν ἄν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτ' ἐγράφη. τὰ μικρὰ συμφέροντα τῆς πόλεως ἔδει με φυλάττειν, τὰ δ' ὅλα, ὥσπερ οὗτοι, πεπρακέναι; οὐ δήπου. Λέγε τοίνυν μοι τὸ ψήφισμα τουτὶ λαβῶν, ὃ σαφῶς οὗτος εἰδὼς παρέβη. λέγε.

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76. Ὑπόλοιπον δέ μοί ἐστι τὴν κολακείαν αὐτοῦ διεξελθεῖν. Δημοσθένης γὰρ ἐνιαυτὸν βουλευσας οὐδεμίαν πώποτε φανείται πρεσβείαν εἰς προεδρίαν καλέσας, ἀλλὰ τότε μόνον καὶ πρῶτον πρέσβεις εἰς προεδρίαν ἐκάλεσε καὶ προσκεφάλαια ἔθηκε καὶ φοινικίδας περιπέτασε καὶ ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἠγείτο τοῖς πρέσβεσιν εἰς τὸ θέατρον, ὥστε καὶ συρίττεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην καὶ κολακείαν. καὶ ὅτ' ἀπήεσαν, ἐμισθώσατο αὐτοῖς τρία ζεύγη ὀρικὰ καὶ προὔπεμψεν εἰς Θήβας, καταγέλαστον τὴν πόλιν ποιῶν.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Μνησιφίλου, ἑκατομβαιῶνος ἔην καὶ νέα, φυ- 29  
λῆς πρυτανευούσης Πανδιονίδος, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παι-  
ανιεὺς εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ἀποστείλας πρέσβεις περὶ τῆς  
εἰρήνης ὁμολογουμένας πεποιήται συνθήκας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ  
καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, ὅπως ἂν ἡ εἰρήνη ἐπιτελεσθῇ ἢ  
ἐπιχειροτονηθεῖσα ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, πρέσβεις ἐλέσθαι ἐκ  
πάντων Ἀθηναίων ἤδη πέντε, τοὺς δὲ χειροτονηθέντας ἀποδημῆν  
μηδεμίαν ὑπερβολὴν ποιουμένους, ὅπου ἂν ὄντα πυνθάνωνται τὸν  
Φίλιππον, καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους λαβεῖν τε παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ δοῦναι τὴν  
ταχίστην ἐπὶ ταῖς ὁμολογημέναις συνθήκαις αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Ἀθη-  
ναίων δῆμον, συμπεριλαμβάνοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐκατέρων συμμάχους.  
πρέσβεις ἠρέθησαν Εὐβουλος Ἀναφλύστιος, Αἰσχίνης Κοθωκίδης,  
Κηφισοφῶν Ραμνούσιος, Δημοκράτης Φλυεὺς, Κλέων Κοθωκίδης.]

Ταῦτα γράψαντος ἐμοῦ τότε, καὶ τὸ τῇ πόλει 30  
συμφέρον, οὐ τὸ Φιλίππῳ ζητοῦντος, βραχὺ φρον-  
τίσαντες οἱ χρηστοὶ πρέσβεις οὗτοι καθῆντο ἐν  
Μακεδονίᾳ τρεῖς ὅλους μῆνας, ἕως ἦλθε Φίλιππος  
ἐκ Θράκης πάντα καταστρεψάμενος, ἐξὸν ἡμερῶν  
δέκα, μᾶλλον δὲ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων, εἰς τὸν Ἑλλη-  
σποντον ἀφίχθαι καὶ τὰ χωρία σῶσαι, λαβόντας  
τοὺς ὄρκους πρὶν ἐκείνον ἐξελεῖν αὐτά· οὐ γὰρ  
ἂν ἦψατ' αὐτῶν παρόντων ἡμῶν, ἢ οὐκ ἂν ὠρκί-  
ζομεν αὐτόν, ὥστε τῆς εἰρήνης ἂν διημαρτήκει  
καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀμφότερα εἶχε, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ  
τὰ χωρία.

Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ πρῶτον κλέμμα 31  
μὲν Φιλίππου δωροδόκημα δὲ τῶν ἀδίκων τούτων



ἀνθρώπων τοιοῦτον ἐγένετο· ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ τότε  
 καὶ νῦν καὶ αἰὲς ὁμολογῶ καὶ πολεμεῖν καὶ δια-  
 φέρεσθαι τούτοις· ἕτερον δ' εὐθύς ἐφεξῆς ἔτι  
 32 τούτου μείζον κακούργημα θεάσασθε. ἐπειδὴ  
 γὰρ ὤμοσε τὴν εἰρήνην ὁ Φίλιππος προλαβὼν  
 τὴν Θράκην διὰ τούτους οὐχὶ πεισθέντας τῷ ἐμῷ  
 ψηφίσματι, πάλιν ὠνεῖται παρ' αὐτῶν ὅπως μὴ  
 ἀπίωμεν ἐκ Μακεδονίας, ἕως τὰ τῆς στρατείας  
 τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Φωκέας εὐτρεπῆ ποιήσαιοτο, ἵνα μὴ,  
 δεῦρ' ἀπαγγειλάντων ἡμῶν ὅτι μέλλει καὶ παρα-  
 σκευάζεται πορεύεσθαι, ἐξέλθοιτε ὑμεῖς καὶ περι-  
 πλεύσαντες ταῖς τριήρεσιν εἰς Πύλας ὥσπερ πρό-  
 τερον κλείσαιτε τὸν τόπον, ἀλλ' ἅμ' ἀκούοιτε  
 ταῦτα ἀπαγγελλόντων ἡμῶν κακείνος ἐντὸς εἴη  
 33 Πυλῶν καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοιθ' ὑμεῖς ποιῆσαι. οὕτω δ'  
 ἦν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐν φόβῳ καὶ πολλῇ ἀγωνίᾳ μὴ  
 καὶ ταῦτα προειληφότος αὐτοῦ, εἰ πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς  
 Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι ψηφίσαισθε βοηθεῖν, ἐκφύγοι  
 τὰ πράγματ' αὐτόν, ὥστε μισθοῦται τὸν κατάπτυ-  
 στον τουτονί, οὐκέτι κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πρέ-  
 σβεων ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ καθ' αὐτόν, τοιαῦτα πρὸς ὑμᾶς  
 εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀπαγγεῖλαι, δι' ὧν ἅπαντ' ἀπώλετο.  
 34 ἀξιώθ' ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ δέομαι τοῦτο  
 μεμνήσθαι παρ' ὅλον τὸν ἀγῶνα, ὅτι μὴ κατη-  
 γορήσαντος Αἰσχίνου μηδὲν ἔξω τῆς γραφῆς οὐδ'  
 ἂν ἐγὼ λόγον οὐδένα ἐπιούμην ἕτερον, πάσαις  
 δ' αἰτίαις καὶ βλασφημίαις ἅμα τούτου κεχρη-



μένου ἀνάγκη καμοὶ πρὸς ἕκαστα τῶν κατηγορου-  
 μένων μικρὰ ἀποκρίνασθαι. τίνες οὖν ἦσαν οἱ 35  
 παρὰ τούτου λόγοι τότε ῥηθέντες, καὶ δι' οὓς  
 ἅπαντ' ἀπώλετο; ὡς οὐ δεῖ θορυβεῖσθαι τῷ  
 παρεληλυθέναι Φίλιππον εἴσω Πυλῶν· ἔσται  
 γὰρ ἅπανθ' ὅσα βούλεσθ' ὑμεῖς, ἐὰν ἔχηθ' ἡσυ-  
 χίαν, καὶ ἀκούσεσθε δυοῖν ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, οἷς  
 μὲν ἐχθρὸς ἦκει, φίλον αὐτὸν γεγέννημένον, οἷς  
 δὲ φίλος, τοῦναντίον ἐχθρόν. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ῥήματα  
 τὰς οἰκειότητος ἔφη βεβαιοῦν, μάλα σεμνῶς ὀνο-  
 μάζων, ἀλλὰ τὸ ταῦτά συμφέρειν· συμφέρειν δὲ  
 Φιλίππῳ καὶ Φωκεῦσι καὶ ὑμῖν ὁμοίως ἅπασι τῆς  
 ἀναληθσίας καὶ τῆς βαρύτητος ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς  
 τῶν Θηβαίων. ταῦτα δ' ἀσμένως τινὲς ἤκουον 36  
 αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τόθ' ὑποῦσαν ἀπέχθειαν πρὸς τοὺς  
 Θηβαίους. τί οὖν συνέβη μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθύς, οὐκ  
 εἰς μακρὰν; τοὺς μὲν Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι καὶ  
 κατασκαφῆναι τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν, ὑμᾶς δ' ἡσυχίαν  
 ἀγαγόντας καὶ τούτῳ πεισθέντας μικρὸν ὕστερον  
 σκευαγωγεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν, τοῦτον δὲ χρυσίου  
 λαβεῖν, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις τὴν μὲν ἀπέχθειαν  
 τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλοὺς τῇ πόλει γενέ-  
 σθαι, τὴν δὲ χάριν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπραγμένων  
 Φιλίππῳ. ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, λέγε μοι τό τε 37  
 τοῦ Καλλισθένους ψήφισμα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν  
 τοῦ Φιλίππου, ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ταῦθ' ἅπανθ'  
 ὑμῖν ἔσται φανερά. λέγε,

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ Μνησιφίλου ἄρχοντος, συγκλήτου ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ στρατηγῶν καὶ πρυτάνεων, καὶ βουλῆς γνώμη, μαιμακτηριῶνος δεκάτη ἀπιόντος, Καλλισθένης Ἐτεονίκου Φαληρεὺς εἶπε, μηδένα Ἀθηναίων μηδεμίᾳ παρευρέσει ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ κοιταῖον γίγνεσθαι ἀλλ' ἐν ἄστει καὶ Πειραιεῖ, ὅσοι μὴ ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις εἰσὶν ἀποτεταγμένοι· τούτων δ' ἐκάστους, ἣν παρέλαβον τάξιν, διατηρεῖν μήτε  
 38 ἀφημερεύοντας μήτε ἀποκοιτοῦντας. ὅς ἂν δὲ ἀπειθήσῃ τῷδε τῷ ψηφίσματι, ἔνοχος ἔστω τοῖς τῆς προδοσίας ἐπιτιμίοις, ἐὰν μὴ τι ἀδύνατον ἐπιδεικνύῃ περὶ ἑαυτόν· περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου ἐπικρινέτω ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὄπλων στρατηγὸς καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς. κατακομίζειν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν πάντα τὴν ταχίστην, τὰ μὲν ἐντὸς σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι εἰς ἄστυ καὶ Πειραιᾶ, τὰ δὲ ἐκτὸς σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι Ἐλευσίνα καὶ Φυλὴν καὶ Ἄφιδναν καὶ Ῥαμουῦντα καὶ Σούνιον.]

Ἄρ' ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς ἐλπίσι τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιεῖσθε, ἣ ταῦτ' ἐπηγγέλλεθ' ὑμῖν οὗτος ὁ μισθωτός ;  
 39 Λέγε δὴ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν ἔπεμψε Φίλιππος μετὰ ταῦτα.

## ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.

[Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἴστε ἡμᾶς παρεληλυθότας εἴσω Πυλῶν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Φωκίδα ὑφ' ἑαυτοὺς πεποιημένους, καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐκουσίως προσετίθετο τῶν πολισμάτων, φρουρὰς εἰσαγροχότας εἰς αὐτά, τὰ δὲ μὴ ὑπακούοντα κατὰ κράτος λαβόντες καὶ ἐξυδραποδισάμενοι κατεσκάψαμεν. ἀκούων δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς παρασκευάζεσθαι βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς γέγραφα ὑμῖν, ἵνα μὴ πλείον ἐνοχλήσθε περὶ τούτων· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ὅλοις οὐδὲ μέτριόν μοι δοκεῖτε ποιεῖν, τὴν εἰρήνην συνθέμενοι καὶ ὁμοίως ἀντιπαρεξάγοντες, καὶ ταῦτα

οὐδὲ συμπεριειλημμένων τῶν Φωκέων ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς ἡμῶν συνθήκαις. ὥστε ἐὰν μὴ ἐμμένητε τοῖς ὡμολογημένοις, οὐδὲν προτερήσετε ἔξω τοῦ ἐφθακέναι ἀδικοῦντες.]

Ἄκούετε ὡς σαφῶς δηλοῖ καὶ διορίζεται ἐν τῇ 40  
 πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ συμμάχους  
 ὅτι “ ἐγὼ ταῦτα πεποίηκα ἀκόντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ  
 λυπουμένων, ὥστ’ εἴ περ εὖ φρονεῖτε, ὦ Θηβαῖοι  
 καὶ Θετταλοί, τούτους μὲν ἐχθροὺς ὑπολήψεσθε,  
 ἐμοὶ δὲ πιστεύσετε,” οὐ τούτοις τοῖς ῥήμασι γρά-  
 ψας, ταῦτα δὲ βουλόμενος δεικνύναι. τοιγαροῦν  
 ἐκ τούτων ᾧχετο ἐκείνους λαβὼν εἰς τὸ μῆδ’ ὅτι-  
 οῦν προορᾶν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα μῆδ’ αἰσθάνεσθαι,  
 ἀλλ’ ἐᾶσαι πάντα τὰ πράγματα ἐκείνῳ ὑφ’ ἑαυτῷ  
 ποιήσασθαι· ἐξ ὧν ταῖς παρούσαις συμφοραῖς  
 οἱ ταλαίπωροι κέχρηται. ὁ δὲ ταύτης τῆς πί- 41  
 στεως αὐτῷ συνεργὸς καὶ συναγωνιστῆς καὶ ὁ  
 δεῦρ’ ἀπαγγείλας τὰ ψευδῆ καὶ φενακίσας ὑμᾶς  
 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὰ Θηβαίων ὀδυρόμενος νῦν πάθη  
 καὶ διεξιὼν ὡς οἰκτρά, καὶ τούτων καὶ τῶν ἐν

133. Θῆβαι δέ, Θῆβαι, πόλις Ἀστυγείτων, μεθ’ ἡμέραν μίαν ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνήρπασται, εἰ καὶ δικαίως, περὶ τῶν ὄλων οὐκ ὀρθῶς βουλευσάμενοι, ἀλλὰ τὴν γε θεοβλάβειαν καὶ τὴν ἀφροσύνην οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνως, ἀλλὰ δαιμονίως κτησάμενοι. 156. μῆδ’ ὑπομνησθε τῶν ἀνιάτων καὶ ἀνηκέστων κακῶν τοὺς ταλαιπώρους Θηβαίους, οὓς φυγόντας διὰ τοῦτον ὑποδέδεχθε τῇ πόλει, ὧν ἱερὰ καὶ τέκνα καὶ τάφους ἀπώλεσεν ἡ Δημοσθένους δωροδοκία καὶ τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον· 157. ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ τοῖς σώμασιν οὐ παρεγένεσθε, ἀλλὰ ταῖς γε διανοαῖς ἀποβλέψατ’ αὐ-

Φωκεῦσι κακῶν καὶ ὅσ' ἄλλα πεπόνθασιν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀπάντων αὐτὸς ὢν αἴτιος. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι σὺ μὲν ἀλγεῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν, Λισχίνη, καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους ἔλεεῖς, κτῆμ' ἔχων ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ καὶ γεωργῶν τὰ ἐκείνων, ἐγὼ δὲ χαίρω, ὅς εὐθὺς ἐξηγοίμην ὑπὸ τοῦ ταῦτα πράξαντος.

42 Ἄλλὰ γὰρ ἐμπέπτωκα εἰς λόγους, οὓς αὐτίκα μᾶλλον ἴσως ἀρμόσει λέγειν. ἐπάνεμι δὴ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις, ὡς τὰ τούτων ἀδικήματα τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων πραγμάτων γέγονεν αἴτια.

Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐξηπάτησθε μὲν ὑμεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου διὰ τούτων τῶν ἐν ταῖς πρεσβείαις μισθωσάντων ἑαυτοὺς τῷ Φιλίππῳ καὶ οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ὑμῖν ἀπαγγειλάντων, ἐξηπάτηντο δὲ οἱ ταλαίπωροι Φωκεῖς καὶ ἀνήρηντο αἱ πόλεις αὐ-  
43 τῶν, τί ἐγένετο; οἱ μὲν κατάπτυστοι Θετταλοὶ καὶ ἀναίσθητοι Θηβαῖοι φίλον εὐεργέτην σωτήρα τὸν Φίλιππον ἠγοῦντο· πάντ' ἐκεῖνος ἦν αὐτοῖς· οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἤκουον, εἴ τις ἄλλο τι βούλοιο λέγειν. ὑμεῖς δὲ ὑφορώμενοι τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ

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τῶν εἰς τὰς συμφορὰς, καὶ νομίσαθ' ὄραν ἀλικομένην τὴν πόλιν, τειχῶν κατασκαφὰς, ἐμπρήσεις οἰκιῶν, ἀγομένας γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας εἰς δουλείαν, πρεσβύτας ἀνθρώπους, πρεσβυτίδας γυναῖκας, ὅψε μεταμανθάνοντας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, κλαίοντας, ἰκετεύοντας ὑμᾶς, ὀργιζομένους οὐ τοῖς τιμωρουμένοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τούτων αἰτίοις, ἐπισκῆπτοντας μηδενὶ τρόπῳ τὸν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλιτήριον στεφανοῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην τὴν συμπαρακολουθοῦσαν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ φυλάξασθαι.



δυσχεραίνοντες ἤγετε τὴν εἰρήνην ὁμως· οὐ γὰρ  
 ἦν ὃ τι ἂν ἐποιεῖτε. καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ Ἑλληνες,  
 ὁμοίως ὑμῖν πεφenaκισμένοι καὶ διημαρτηκότες  
 ὧν ἤλπισαν, ἤγουν τὴν εἰρήνην, αὐτοὶ τρόπον τινὰ  
 ἐκ πολλοῦ πολεμούμενοι. ὅτε γὰρ περιῶν Φίλιπ- 44  
 πος Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Τριβαλλοὺς, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων κατεστρέφετο, καὶ δυνάμεις πολλὰς καὶ  
 μεγάλας ἐποιεῖθ' ὑφ' ἑαυτῶ, καὶ τινες τῶν ἐκ τῶν  
 πόλεων ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐξουσία βαδίζοντες  
 ἐκείσε διεφθείροντο, ὧν εἷς οὗτος ἦν, τότε πάν-  
 τες, ἐφ' οὓς ταῦτα παρεσκευάζετ' ἐκείνος, ἐπο-  
 λεμοῦντο. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἠσθάνοντο, ἕτερος ὁ λόγος  
 οὗτος, οὐ πρὸς ἐμέ. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ προὔλεγον καὶ 45  
 διεμαρτυρόμην καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν ἀεὶ καὶ ὅποι πεμ-  
 φθείην· αἱ δὲ πόλεις ἐνόσουν τῶν μὲν ἐν τῷ  
 πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ πράττειν δωροδοκούντων καὶ  
 διαφθειρομένων ἐπὶ χρήμασι, τῶν δὲ ἰδιωτῶν καὶ  
 πολλῶν τὰ μὲν οὐ προορωμένων, τὰ δὲ τῇ καθ'  
 ἡμέραν ῥαστώνῃ καὶ σχολῇ δελεαζομένων, καὶ  
 τοιοντοῦνί τι πάθος πεπονθότων ἀπάντων, πλὴν  
 οὐκ ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐκάστων οἰομένων τὸ δεινὸν  
 ἤξειν, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐτέρων κινδύνων τὰ ἑαυτῶν  
 ἀσφαλῶς σχήσειν, ὅταν βούλωνται. εἰτ' οἶμαι 46  
 συμβέβηκε τοῖς μὲν πλήθεσιν ἀντὶ τῆς πολλῆς  
 καὶ ἀκαίρου ῥαθυμίας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπολωλέκε-  
 ναι, τοῖς δὲ προεστηκόσι καὶ τὰλλα πλὴν ἑαυ-  
 τοὺς οἰομένοις πωλεῖν πρώτους ἑαυτοὺς πεπρα-



κόσιν αἰσθέσθαι· ἀντὶ γὰρ φίλων καὶ ξένων, ἂ  
 τότε ὠνομάζοντο ἠνίκα ἔδωροδόκουν, νῦν κόλακες  
 καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθροὶ καὶ τᾶλλ' ἂ προσήκει πάντ'  
 47 ἀκούουσιν. οὐδεὶς γάρ, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ  
 τοῦ προδιδόντος συμφέρον ζητῶν χρήματ' ἀνα-  
 λίσκει, οὐδ' ἐπειδὴν ὦν ἂν πρίηται κύριος γένη-  
 ται, τῷ προδότῃ συμβούλῳ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἔτι  
 χρήται· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν ἦν εὐδαιμονέστερον προ-  
 δότου. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα· πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε  
 καὶ δεῖ. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐγκρατῆς  
 ὁ ζητῶν ἄρχειν καταστήῃ, καὶ τῶν ταῦτα ἀπο-  
 δομένων δεσπότης ἐστί, τὴν δὲ πονηρίαν εἰδώς,  
 τότε δῆ, τότε καὶ μισεῖ καὶ ἀπιστεῖ καὶ προπη-  
 48 λακίζει. σκοπεῖτε δέ· καὶ γὰρ εἰ παρελήλυθεν  
 ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων καιρός, ὁ τοῦ γε εἰδέναί τὰ  
 τοιαῦτα καιρὸς αἰεὶ πάρεστι τοῖς εὖ φρονούσιν.  
 μέχρι τούτου Λασθένης φίλος ὠνομάζετο, ἕως  
 προὔδωκεν Ὀλυνθον· μέχρι τούτου Τιμόλαος,  
 ἕως ἀπώλεσε Θήβας· μέχρι τούτου Εὐδικος καὶ  
 Σίμος ὁ Λαρισαῖος, ἕως Θετταλίαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππῳ  
 ἐποίησαν. εἴτ' ἐλαυνομένων καὶ ὑβριζομένων  
 καὶ τί κακὸν οὐχὶ πασχόντων πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη  
 μεστὴ γέγονεν. τί δ' Ἀρίστρατος ἐν Σικυῶνι,  
 49 καὶ τί Περίλαος ἐν Μεγάρῳ; οὐκ ἀπερριμ-  
 μένοι; ἐξ ὧν καὶ σαφέστατ' ἂν τις ἴδοι ὅτι ὁ  
 μάλιστα φυλάττων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα καὶ πλεῖ-  
 στα ἀντιλέγων τούτοις, οὗτος ὑμῖν, Αἰσχίνῃ, τοῖς

προδιδούσι καὶ μισθαρνοῦσι τὸ ἔχειν ἐφ' ὅτω  
 δωροδοκήσετε περιποιεῖ, καὶ διὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς  
 τουτωνὶ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθισταμένους τοῖς ὑμετέροις  
 βουλήμασιν ὑμεῖς ἐστε σῶοι καὶ ἔμμισθοι, ἐπεὶ  
 διὰ γε ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς πάλαι ἂν ἀπολώλειτε.

Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν τότεπραχθέντων ἔχων ἔτι 50  
 πολλὰ λέγειν, καὶ ταῦτα ἡγοῦμαι πλείω τῶν ἱκα-  
 νῶν εἰρηῆσθαι· αἴτιος δ' οὗτος, ὥσπερ ἐωλοκρα-  
 σίαν τινά μου τῆς πονηρίας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν  
 ἀδικημάτων κατασκεδάσας, ἦν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν πρὸς  
 τοὺς νεωτέρους τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπολύσασθαι.  
 παρηνώχλησθε δὲ ἴσως, οἱ καὶ πρὶν ἐμὲ εἰπεῖν  
 ὅτιοῦν εἰδότες τὴν τούτου τότεμισθαρνίαν. καί 51  
 τοι φιλίαν γε καὶ ξενίαν αὐτὴν ὀνομάζει, καὶ νῦν  
 εἶπέ που λέγων “ὁ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ξενίαν ὄνει-  
 δίζων ἐμοί.” ἐγὼ σοι ξενίαν Ἀλεξάνδρου; πό-  
 θεν λαβόντι ἢ πῶς ἀξιωθέντι; οὔτε Φιλίππου  
 ξένον οὔτ' Ἀλεξάνδρου φίλον εἵποισι ἂν ἐγὼ σε,  
 οὐχ οὔτω μαίνομαι, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς θεριστὰς καὶ  
 τοὺς ἄλλο τι μισθοῦ πράττοντας φίλους καὶ ξέ-  
 νους δεῖ καλεῖν τῶν μισθωσαμένων. ἀλλ' οὐκ 52  
 ἔστι ταῦτα· πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. ἀλλὰ  
 μισθωτὸν ἐγὼ σε Φιλίππου πρότερον καὶ νῦν  
 Ἀλεξάνδρου καλῶ, καὶ οὗτοι πάντες. εἰ δ' ἀπι-

66. ὁ γὰρ μισαλέξανδρος νυνὶ φάσκων εἶναι καὶ τότε μισο-  
 φίλιππος Δημοσθένους, ὁ τὴν ξενίαν ἐμοὶ προφέρων τὴν Ἀλεξάν-  
 δρου, γράφει ψήφισμα.

στεῖς, ἐρώτησον αὐτούς. μᾶλλον δ' ἐγὼ τοῦθ' ὑπὲρ σοῦ ποιήσω. πότερον ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δοκεῖ μισθωτὸς Αἰσχίνης ἢ ξένος εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρου; ἀκούεις ἂ λέγουσιν.

- 53 Βούλομαι τοίνυν ἤδη καὶ περὶ τῆς γραφῆς αὐτῆς ἀπολογήσασθαι καὶ διεξελθεῖν τὰ πεπραγμέν' ἐμαντῶ, ἵνα καίπερ εἰδὼς Αἰσχίνης ὁμῶς ἀκούσῃ δι' ἃ φημι καὶ τούτων τῶν προβεβουλευμένων καὶ πολλῶ μειζόνων ἔτι τούτων δωρεῶν δίκαιος εἶναι τυγχάνειν. Καί μοι λέγε τὴν γραφὴν αὐτὴν λαβών.

#### ΓΡΑΦΗ.

- 54 [Ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου ἄρχοντος, ἐλαφηβολιώνος ἔκτη ἰσταμένου, Αἰσχίνης Ἀτρομήτου Κοθωκίδης ἀπήνεγκε πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα παρανόμων κατὰ Κτησιφώντος τοῦ Λεωσθένους Ἀναφλυστίου, ὅτι ἔγραψε παράνομον ψήφισμα, ὡς ἄρα δεῖ στεφανῶσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα χρυσῶ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις, τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς, ὅτι στεφανοῖ ὁ δῆμος Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα χρυσῶ στεφάνῳ ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα, καὶ εὐνοίας ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ εἰς τε τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας καὶ τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας, καὶ διότι διατελεῖ πράττων καὶ λέγων τὰ βέλτιστα τῷ δήμῳ καὶ πρόθυμός ἐστι ποιεῖν ὃ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθόν,
- 55 πάντα ταῦτα ψευδῆ γράψας καὶ παράνομα, τῶν νόμων οὐκ ἐόντων πρῶτον μὲν ψευδεῖς γραφὰς εἰς τὰ δημόσια γράμματα καταβάλλεσθαι, εἶτα τὸν ὑπεύθυνον στεφανοῖν (ἔστι Δημοσθένης τειχοποιὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν τεταγμένος), ἔτι δὲ μὴ ἀναγορεύειν τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τραγωδῶν τῇ καινῇ, ἀλλ' ἐὰν μὲν ἢ βουλὴ στεφανοῖ, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἀνειπεῖν, ἐὰν δὲ

ἡ πόλις, ἐν Πυκνὴ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. τίμημα τάλαντα πενή-  
κοντα. κλήτορες Κηφισοφῶν Κηφισοφῶντος Ῥαμνούσιος,  
Κλέων Κλέωνος Κοθωκίδης.]

Ἄ μὲν διώκει τοῦ ψηφίσματος, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἄθη- 56  
ναῖοι, ταῦτ' ἐστίν. ἐγὼ δ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν τούτων  
πρῶτον οἶμαι δῆλον ὑμῖν ποιήσειν ὅτι πάντα  
δικαίως ἀπολογήσομαι· τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν τούτῳ  
ποιησάμενος τῶν γεγραμμένων τάξιν περὶ πάν-  
των ἐρῶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐφεξῆς καὶ οὐδὲν ἐκὼν  
παραλείψω. τοῦ μὲν οὖν γράψαι πράττοντα καὶ 57  
λέγοντα τὰ βέλτιστά με τῷ δήμῳ διατελεῖν καὶ  
πρόθυμον εἶναι ποιεῖν ὅ τι δύναμαι ἀγαθόν, καὶ  
ἐπαινεῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐν τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις τὴν  
κρίσιν εἶναι νομίζω· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων ἐξεταζο-  
μένων εὐρεθήσεται εἴτε ἀληθῆ περὶ ἐμοῦ γέγραφε  
Κητησιφῶν ταῦτα καὶ προσήκοντα εἴτε καὶ ψευδῆ·  
τὸ δὲ μὴ προσγράψαντα “ἐπειδὴν τὰς εὐθύνas 58  
δῶ” στεφανοῦν, καὶ ἀνειπεῖν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τὸν

11. κατιδὼν δέ τις ταῦτα νομοθέτης τίθησι νόμον καὶ μίλα  
καλῶς ἔχοντα, τὸν διαρρηθῆν ἀπαγορεύοντα τοὺς ὑπευθύνους μὴ  
στεφανοῦν. καὶ ταῦτα οὕτως εὖ προκατειληφῶτος τοῦ νομοθέτου  
εὐρηται κρείττονες λόγοι τῶν νόμων, οὓς εἰ μὴ τις ὑμῖν ἐρεῖ,  
λήσετε ἐξαπατηθέντες. τούτων γάρ τινες τῶν τοὺς ὑπευθύνους  
στεφανούντων παρὰ τοὺς νόμους οἱ μὲν φύσει μέτριοί εἰσιν, εἰ  
δή τις ἐστὶ μέτριος τῶν τὰ παράνομα γραφόντων· ἀλλ' οὖν προ-  
βύλλονταί γε τι πρὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης. προσεγγράφουσι γὰρ πρὸς  
τὰ ψηφίσματα στεφανοῦν τὸν ὑπεύθυνον, ἐπειδὴν λόγον καὶ εὐθύ-  
νας τῆς ἀρχῆς δῶ. 12. καὶ ἡ μὲν πόλις τὸ ἴσον ἀδικήμα ἀδικεῖ-

στεφάνον κελεύσαι, κοινωνεῖν μὲν ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις, εἴτε ἄξιός εἰμι τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ τῆς ἀναρρήσεως τῆς ἐν τούτοις εἴτε καὶ μή, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τοὺς νόμους δεικτέον εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ, καθ' οὓς ταῦτα γράφειν ἐξῆν τούτῳ. οὕτωςι μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δικαίως καὶ ἀπλῶς τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἔγνωκα ποιεῖσθαι, βαδιοῦ-  
 59 μαι δ' ἐπ' αὐτὰ ἃ πέπρακταί μοι. καί με μηδεὶς ὑπολάβη ἀπαρτᾶν τὸν λόγον τῆς γραφῆς, εἰς ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις καὶ λόγους ἐμπέσω· ὁ γὰρ διώκων τοῦ ψηφίσματος τὸ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν τὰ ἄριστα με καὶ γεγραμμένος ταῦτα ὡς οὐκ ἀληθῆ, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τοὺς περὶ ἀπάντων τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπολιτευμένων λόγους οἰκείους καὶ ἀναγκαίους τῇ γραφῇ πεποιηκώς. εἶτα καὶ πολλῶν προαιρέσεων οὐσῶν τῆς πολιτείας τὴν περὶ τὰς ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις εἰλόμην ἐγώ, ὥστε καὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις ἐκ τούτων δίκαιός εἰμι ποιεῖσθαι.

60 Ἄ μὲν οὖν πρὸ τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ δημηγορεῖν ἐμὲ προῦλαβε καὶ κατέσχε Φίλιππος, ἕασω· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι τούτων εἶναι πρὸς ἐμέ· ἃ δ'

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ται· προκαταλαμβάνονται γὰρ ἐπαίνοις καὶ στεφάνοις αἱ εὐθυναί· ὁ δὲ τὸ ψηφισμα γράφων ἐνδείκνυται τοῖς ἀκούουσιν, ὅτι γέγραφε μὲν παράνομα, αἰσχύνεται δὲ ἐφ' οἷς ἡμάρτηκε. Κτησιφῶν δέ, ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὑπερπηδήσας τὸν νόμον τὸν περὶ τῶν ὑπευθύνων κείμενον καὶ τὴν πρόφασιν, ἣν ἐγὼ ἀρτίως προεῖπον ὑμῖν, ἀνελών, πρὶν λόγον, πρὶν εὐθύνας δοῦναι, γέγραφε μετὰ Δημοσθένην ἄρχοντα στεφανοῦν.



ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐπέστην ἐγὼ καὶ διεκω-  
 λύθη, ταῦτα ἀναμνήσω καὶ τούτων ὑφέξω λόγον,  
 τοσοῦτον ὑπειπών. πλεονέκτημα, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-  
 ναῖοι, μέγα ὑπῆρξε Φιλίππῳ. παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς 61  
 Ἑλλησιν, οὐ τισὶν ἀλλ' ἅπασιν ὁμοίως, φορὰν  
 προδοτῶν καὶ δωροδόκων καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν ἀνθρώ-  
 πων συνέβη γενέσθαι τοσαύτην, ὅσην οὐδεὶς πω  
 πρότερον μέμνηται γεγουνῖαν· οὓς συναγωνιστὰς  
 καὶ συνεργοὺς λαβὼν καὶ πρότερον κακῶς τοὺς  
 Ἑλληνας ἔχοντας πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ στασιαστικῶς  
 ἔτι χειρὸν διέθηκε, τοὺς μὲν ἐξαπατῶν, τοῖς δὲ  
 διδούς, τοὺς δὲ πάντα τρόπον διαφθείρων, καὶ  
 διέστησεν εἰς μέρη πολλὰ ἐνὸς τοῦ συμφέροντος  
 ἅπασιν ὄντος, κωλύειν ἐκείνον μέγαν γίγνεσθαι.  
 ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὲ καταστάσει καὶ ἔτι ἀγνοία τοῦ συν- 62  
 ισταμένου καὶ φυομένου κακοῦ τῶν ἀπάντων Ἑλ-  
 λήνων ὄντων δεῖ σκοπεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,  
 τί προσῆκον ἦν ἐλέσθαι πράττειν καὶ ποιεῖν τὴν  
 πόλιν, καὶ τούτων λόγον παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν· ὁ γὰρ  
 ἐνταῦθα ἑαυτὸν τάξας τῆς πολιτείας εἰμὶ ἐγώ. πό- 63  
 τερον αὐτὴν ἐχρῆν, Αἰσχίνῃ, τὸ φρόνημα ἀφεῖσαν  
 καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν τὴν αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ Θετταλῶν καὶ Δο-  
 λόπων τάξει συγκατακτᾶσθαι Φιλίππῳ τὴν τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων ἀρχὴν καὶ τὰ τῶν προγόνων καλὰ καὶ  
 δίκαια ἀναιρεῖν; ἢ τοῦτο μὲν μὴ ποιεῖν, δεινὸν  
 γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἃ δ' ἑώρα συμβησόμενα, εἰ μηδεὶς  
 κωλύσει, καὶ προησθάνεθ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐκ πολλοῦ,

- 64 ταῦτα περιδεῖν γιγνόμενα ; ἀλλὰ νῦν ἔγωγε τὸν μάλιστα ἐπιτιμῶντα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἠδέως ἂν ἐροίμην, τῆς ποίας μερίδος γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐβούλετ' ἂν, πότερον τῆς συναιτίας τῶν συμβεβηκότων τοῖς Ἑλλησι κακῶν καὶ αἰσchrῶν, ἧς ἂν Θετταλοὺς καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τούτων εἴποι τις, ἢ τῆς περιωρακυίας ταῦτα γιγνόμενα ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ἰδίας πλεονεξίας ἐλπίδι, ἧς ἂν Ἀρκάδας καὶ Μεσσηνί-
- 65 οὺς καὶ Ἀργεῖους θείημεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων πολλοί, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντες, χεῖρον ἡμῶν ἀπηλλάχασιν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν ὡς ἐκράτησε Φίλιππος ὦχετ' εὐθέως ἀπιὼν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἦγεν ἡσυχίαν, μήτε τῶν αὐτοῦ συμμάχων μήτε τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μηδένα μηδὲν λυπήσας, ἦν ἂν τις κατὰ τῶν ἐναντιωθέντων οἷς ἔπραττεν ἐκεῖνος μέμψις καὶ κατηγορία· εἰ δὲ ὁμοίως ἀπάντων τὸ ἀξίωμα, τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν περιείλετο, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τὰς πολιτείας, ὅσων ἠδύνατο, πῶς οὐχ ἀπάντων ἐνδοξότατα ὑμεῖς ἐβουλεύσασθε ἐμοὶ πεισθέντες ;
- 66 Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖσε ἐπανέρχομαι. τί τὴν πόλιν, Αἰσχίνη, προσῆκε ποιεῖν ἀρχὴν καὶ τυραννίδα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὀρώσαν ἑαυτῷ κατασκευαζόμενον Φίλιππον ; ἢ τί τὸν σύμβουλον ἔδει λέγειν ἢ γράφειν, τὸν Ἀθήνησι (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο πλείστον διαφέρει), ὃς συνῆδεν μὲν ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας, ἀφ' ἧς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀνέ-

βην, ἀεὶ περὶ πρωτείων καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ἀγωνιζομένην τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ πλείω καὶ χρήματα καὶ σώματα ἀνηλωκυῖαν ὑπὲρ φιλοτιμίας καὶ τῶν πᾶσι συμφερόντων ἢ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀνηλώκασιν ἕκαστοι, ἐώρων δ' αὐτὸν τὸν 67 Φίλιππον, πρὸς ὃν ἦν ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγών, ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκεκομμένον, τὴν κλεῖν κατεαγότα, τὴν χεῖρα, τὸ σκέλος πεπηρωμένον, πᾶν ὃ τι βουληθείη μέρος ἢ τύχη τοῦ σώματος παρελῆσθαι, τοῦτο προϊέμενον, ὥστε τῷ λοιπῷ μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ζῆν; καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ 68 τοῦτό γε οὐδεὶς ἂν εἰπεῖν τολμήσαι, ὡς τῷ μὲν ἐν Πέλλῃ τραφέντι, χωρίῳ ἀδόξῳ τότε γε ὄντι καὶ μικρῷ, τοσαύτην μεγαλοψυχίαν προσῆκεν ἐγγενέσθαι, ὥστε τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμῆσαι καὶ τοῦτ' εἰς τὸν νοῦν ἐμβαλέσθαι, ὑμῖν δ' οὖσιν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἐν πᾶσι καὶ λόγοις καὶ θεωρήμασι τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς ὑπόμνημα θεωροῦσι τοσαύτην κακίαν ὑπάρξαι, ὥστε τῆς ἐλευθερίας αὐτεπαγγέλτους ἐβελοντὰς παραχωρῆσαι Φιλίππῳ. οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ταῦτα φήσειεν. λοιπὸν τοίνυν ἦν καὶ ἀναγ- 69 καῖον ἅμα πᾶσιν οἷς ἐκεῖνος ἔπραττεν ἀδικῶν ὑμᾶς ἐναντιοῦσθαι δικαίως. τοῦτ' ἐποιεῖτε μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς, εἰκότως καὶ προσηκόντως, ἔγραφον δὲ καὶ συνεβούλευον καὶ ἐγὼ καθ' οὓς ἐπολιτευόμην χρόνους. ὁμολογῶ. ἀλλὰ τί ἐχρῆν με

ποιεῖν; ἤδη γάρ σ' ἐρωτῶ, πάντα τᾶλλ' ἀφείς,  
 Ἀμφίπολιν, Πύδναν, Ποτίδαιαν, Ἀλόνησον· οὐ-  
 70 δένος τούτων μέμνημαι· Σέρριον δὲ καὶ Δορίσκον  
 καὶ τὴν Πεπαρήθου πόρθησιν καὶ ὅσ' ἄλλα ἡ  
 πόλις ἠδίκηίτο, οὐδ' εἰ γέγονεν οἶδα· καίτοι σύ  
 γ' ἔφησθά με ταῦτα λέγοντα εἰς ἔχθραν ἐμβαλεῖν  
 τουτουσί, Εὐβούλου καὶ Ἀριστοφῶντος καὶ Διο-  
 πείθους τῶν περὶ τούτων ψηφισμάτων ὄντων,  
 οὐκ ἐμῶν, ὧ λέγων εὐχερῶς ὅ τι ἂν βουληθῆς.  
 71 οὐδὲ νῦν περὶ τούτων ἐρῶ· ἀλλ' ὁ τὴν Εὐβοίαν  
 ἐκεῖνος σφετεριζόμενος καὶ κατασκευάζων ἐπι-  
 τείχισμα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν, καὶ Μεγάροις ἐπιχει-  
 ρῶν, καὶ καταλαμβάνων Ὠρεόν, καὶ κατασκάπτων  
 Πορθμόν, καὶ καθιστὰς ἐν μὲν Ὠρεῶ Φιλιστίδην  
 τύραννον ἐν δ' Ἐρετρίᾳ Κλείταρχον, καὶ τὸν Ἑλ-  
 λήσποντον ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιούμενος, καὶ Βυζάντιον  
 πολιορκῶν, καὶ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας ἃς μὲν ἀναιρῶν,  
 εἰς ἃς δὲ τοὺς φυγάδας κατάγων, πότερον ταῦτα  
 πάντα ποιῶν ἠδίκηει καὶ παρεσπόνδει καὶ ἔλνε  
 τὴν εἰρήνην ἢ οὐ; καὶ πότερον φανῆναί τινα  
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸν ταῦτα κωλύσοντα ποιεῖν αὐτὸν  
 72 ἐχρῆν ἢ μή; εἰ μὲν γὰρ μὴ ἐχρῆν, ἀλλὰ τὴν  
 Μυσῶν λείαν καλουμένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὖσαν  
 ὀφθῆναι ζώντων καὶ ὄντων Ἀθηναίων, περιείρ-  
 γασμαι μὲν ἐγὼ περὶ τούτων εἰπών, περιείργα-  
 σται δ' ἡ πόλις ἢ πεισθεῖσα ἐμοί, ἔστω δὲ  
 ἀδικήματα πάντα ἃ πέπρακται καὶ ἁμαρτήματα

ἐμά. εἰ δὲ ἔδει τινὰ τούτων κωλυτὴν φανῆναι, τίνα ἄλλον ἢ τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον προσῆκε γενέσθαι; ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐπολιτευόμεν ἑγώ, καὶ ὁρῶν καταδουλούμενον πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐκείνον ἦναι τιούμην, καὶ προλέγων καὶ διδάσκων μὴ προῖεσθαι διετέλουν.

Καὶ μὴν τὴν εἰρήνην γ' ἐκείνος ἔλυσε τὰ πλοῖα 73  
λαβῶν, οὐχ ἡ πόλις, Λίσχινη. Φέρε δὲ αὐτὰ τὰ ψηφίσματα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου, καὶ λέγε ἐφεξῆς· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων, τίς τίνος αἰτιῶς ἐστι, γενήσεται φανερόν.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Νεοκλέους, μηνὸς βοηδρομιῶνος, ἐκκλησία σύγκλητος ὑπὸ στρατηγῶν, Εὐβουλος Μνησιθέου Κόπριος εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ προσήγγειλαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὡς ἄρα Λεωδάμαντα τὸν ναύαρχόν καὶ τὰ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀποσταλέντα σκάφη εἴκοσι ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σίτου παραπομπὴν εἰς Ἑλλάσποντον ὃ παρὰ Φιλίππου στρατηγὸς Ἀμύντας καταγέροχεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχει, ἐπιμεληθῆναι τοὺς πρυτάνεις καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ὅπως ἡ βουλὴ συναχθῶσι καὶ αἰρεθῶσι πρέσβεις πρὸς Φίλιππον, οἱ παραγενόμενοι διαλέξονται πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ ἀφεθῆναι τὸν 74  
ναύαρχον καὶ τὰ πλοῖα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας. καὶ εἰ μὲν δι' ἄγνοιαν ταῦτα πεποίηκεν ὁ Ἀμύντας, ὅτι οὐ μεμψιμοιεῖ ὁ δῆμος οὐδέν· εἰ δέ τι πλημμελοῦντα παρὰ τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα λαβῶν, ὅτι ἐπισκεψάμενοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπιτιμήσουσι κατὰ τὴν τῆς ὀλιγωρίας ἀξίαν. εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ ἀγνωμονοῦσιν ἢ ὁ ἀποστείλας ἢ ὁ ἀπεσταλμένος, καὶ λέγειν, ἵνα αισθανόμενος ὁ δῆμος βουλεύσῃται τί δεῖ ποιεῖν.]



75 Τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν τὸ ψήφισμα Εὐβουλος ἔγραψεν, οὐκ ἐγώ, τὸ δ' ἐφεξῆς Ἀριστοφῶν, εἶθ' Ἠγήσιππος, εἶτ' Ἀριστοφῶν πάλιν, εἶτα Φιλοκράτης, εἶτα Κηφισοφῶν, εἶτα πάντες· ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν περὶ τούτων. Λέγε.

#### ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

[Ἐπὶ Νεοκλέους ἄρχοντος, βοηδρομιῶνος ἔτη καὶ νέα, βουλῆς γνώμῃ, πρυτάνεις καὶ στρατηγοὶ ἐχρημάτισαν τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνευεγκόντες, ὅτι ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ πρέσβεις ἐλέσθαι πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ τῆς τῶν πλοίων ἀνακομιδῆς καὶ ἐντολὰς δοῦναι κατὰ τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ψηφίσματα. καὶ εἶλοντο τούσδε, Κηφισοφῶντα Κλέωνος Ἀναφλύστιον, Δημόκριτον Δημοφῶντος Ἀναγυράσιον, Πολύκριτον Ἀπημάντου Κοθωκίδην. πρυτανεία φυλῆς Ἰπποθωντίδος, Ἀριστοφῶν Κολυττεὺς πρόεδρος εἶπεν.]

76 Ὡσπερ τοίνυν ἐγὼ ταῦτα δεικνύω τὰ ψηφίσματα, οὕτω σὺ δείξον, Αἰσχίνη, ὅποῖον ἐγὼ γράψας ψήφισμα αἰτιὸς εἰμι τοῦ πολέμου. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις· εἰ γὰρ εἶχες, οὐδὲν ἂν αὐτοῦ πρότερον νυνὶ παρέσχου. καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὁ Φίλιππος οὐδὲν αἰτιάται ἐμὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου, ἐτέροις ἐγκαλῶν. Λέγε δ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου.

#### ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.

77 [Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. παραγενόμενοι πρὸς ἐμὲ οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν πρεσβευταί, Κηφισοφῶν καὶ Δημόκριτος καὶ Πολύκριτος, διελέγοντο

περὶ τῆς τῶν πλοίων ἀφέσεως ὧν ἐναύρχει Λαομέδων. καθ' ὅλου μὲν οὖν ἔμοιγε φαίνεσθε ἐν μεγάλῃ εὐθείᾳ ἔσεσθαι, εἴ γ' οἴεσθ' ἐμὲ λανθάνειν ὅτι ἐξαπεστάλη ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς τὸν σῖτον παραπέμψοντα ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου εἰς Λήμνον, βοηθήσοντα δὲ Σηλυμβριανοῖς τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μὲν πολιορκουμένοις, οὐ συμπεριειλημμένοις δὲ ἐν ταῖς τῆς φιλίας κοινῇ κειμέναις ἡμῖν συνθήκαις. καὶ ταῦτα συνετάχθη τῷ ναυάρχῳ ἄνευ μὲν 78 τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ὑπὸ δέ τινων ἀρχόντων καὶ ἐτέρων ἰδιωτῶν μὲν νῦν ὄντων, ἐκ παντὸς δὲ τρόπου βουλομένων τὸν δῆμον ἀντὶ τῆς νῦν ὑπαρχούσης πρὸς ἐμὲ φιλίας τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλαβεῖν, πολλῶ μᾶλλον φιλοτιμουμένων τοῦτο συντετελεῖσθαι ἢ τοῖς Σηλυμβριανοῖς βοηθῆσαι. καὶ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν αὐτοῖς τὸ τοιοῦτο πρόσοδον ἔσεσθαι· οὐ μέντοι μοι δοκεῖ τοῦτο χρήσιμον ὑπάρχειν οὐθ' ὑμῖν οὐθ' ἐμοί. διόπερ τά τε νῦν καταχθέντα πλοῖα πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφήμι ὑμῖν, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ, ἐὰν βούλησθε μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς προεστηκόσιν ὑμῶν κακοῆθως πολιτεύεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπιτιμᾶτε, πειράσομαι καὶ γὰρ διαφυλάττειν τὴν εἰρήνην. εὐτυχεῖτε.]

Ἐνταῦθ' οὐδαμοῦ Δημοσθένην γέγραφεν, οὐδ' 79 αἰτίαν οὐδεμίαν κατ' ἐμοῦ. τί ποτ' οὖν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐγκαλῶν τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπραγμένων οὐχὶ μέμνηται; ὅτι τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἂν ἐμέμνητο τῶν αὐτοῦ, εἴ τι περὶ ἐμοῦ γεγράφει· τούτων γὰρ εἰχόμην ἐγὼ καὶ τούτοις ἠναντιούμην. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν εἰς Πελοπόννησον πρεσβείαν ἔγραψα, ὅτε πρῶτον ἐκεῖνος εἰς Πελοπόννησον παρεδύετο, εἶτα τὴν εἰς Εὐβοίαν, ἠνίκ' Εὐβοίας ἤπτετο, εἶτα τὴν ἐπ' Ὀρεὸν ἔξοδον, οὐκέτι πρεσβείαν, καὶ τὴν εἰς Ἐρέτριαν, ἐπειδὴ τυράννους ἐκεῖνος ἐν ταύταις ταῖς πόλεσι κατέστησεν. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τοὺς 80

ἀποστόλους ἅπαντας ἀπέστειλα, καθ' οὓς Χερρόνησος ἐσώθη καὶ Βυζάντιον καὶ πάντες οἱ σύμμαχοι. ἐξ ὧν ὑμῖν μὲν τὰ κάλλιστα, ἔπαινοι δόξαι τιμαὶ στέφανοι χάριτες, παρὰ τῶν εὖ πεπονθότων ὑπῆρχον, τῶν δ' ἀδικουμένων τοῖς μὲν ὑμῖν τότε πεισθειῖσιν ἢ σωτηρία περιεγέμετο, τοῖς δ' ὀλιγορήσασι τὸ πολλάκις ὧν ὑμεῖς προείπατε μεμνήσθαι, καὶ νομίζειν ὑμᾶς μὴ μόνον εὖνους ἑαυτοῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ φρονίμους ἀνθρώπους καὶ μάντις εἶναι· πάντα γὰρ ἐκβέβηκεν ἅ προείπατε.

81 καὶ μὴν ὅτι πολλὰ μὲν ἂν χρήματα ἔδωκε Φιλιστίδης ὥστ' ἔχειν Ὀρεόν, πολλὰ δὲ Κλείταρχος ὥστ' ἔχειν Ἐρέτριαν, πολλὰ δ' αὐτὸς ὁ Φίλιππος ὥστε ταυῦθ' ὑπάρχειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς αὐτῶ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων μηδὲν ἐξελέγχεσθαι μηδ' ἅ ποιῶν ἠδίκει μηδένα ἐξετάζειν πανταχοῦ, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ, καὶ

82 πάντων ἥκιστα σύ· οἱ γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ Κλειτάρχου καὶ τοῦ Φιλιστίδου τότε πρέσβεις δεῦρ' ἀφικνούμενοι παρὰ σοὶ κατέλουν, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ σὺ προὔξενεις αὐτῶν· οὓς ἢ μὲν πόλις ὡς ἐχθροὺς καὶ

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218. τὴν δ' ἐμὴν σωπὴν, ὧ Δημόσθενες, ἢ τοῦ βίου μετριότης παρεσκεύασεν· ἀρκεῖ γάρ μοι μικρὰ καὶ μειζόνων αἰσχρῶς οὐκ ἐπιθυμῶ, ὥστε καὶ σιγῶ καὶ λέγω βουλευσάμενος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ φύσει δαπάνης. σὺ δ', οἶμαι, λαβὼν μὲν σεσίγηκας, ἀναλώσας δὲ κέκραγας. λέγεις δὲ οὐχ ὅποταν σοὶ δοκῇ οὐδ' ἅ βούλει, ἀλλ' ὅποταν οἱ μισθοδῶται σοὶ προστάττωσιν· οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ δὲ ἀλαζονευόμενος, ἅ παραχρῆμα ἐξελέγχει ψευδόμενος.

οὔτε δίκαια οὔτε συμφέροντα λέγοντας ἀπήλασε, σοὶ δ' ἦσαν φίλοι. οὐ τοίνυν ἐπράχθη τούτων οὐδέν, ὧ βλασφημῶν περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ λέγων ὡς σιωπῶ μὲν λαβῶν, βοῶ δ' ἀναλώσας. ἀλλ' οὐ σύ, ἀλλὰ βοᾶς μὲν ἔχων, παύσει δὲ οὐδέποτ', ἐὰν μή σε οὔτοι παύσωσιν ἀτιμώσαντες τήμερον. στεφανωσάντων τοίνυν ὑμῶν ἐμὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις τότε, 83 καὶ γράψαντος Ἀριστονίκου τὰς αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς ἄσπερ οὕτοσὶ Κτησιφῶν νῦν γέγραφε, καὶ ἀναρρηθέντος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τοῦ στεφάνου, καὶ δευτέρου κηρύγματος ἤδη μοι τούτου γιγνομένου, οὐτ' ἀντεῖπεν Αἰσχίνης παρῶν οὔτε τὸν εἰπόντα ἐγράψατο. Καί μοι λέγε καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα λαβῶν.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου Ἡγέμονος ἄρχοντος, γαμηλιῶνος ἕκτη ἀπιόντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Λεοντίδος, Ἀριστόνικος Φρεάρριος εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χρείας παρέσχεται τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν συμμάχων καὶ πρότερον, καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ βεβοήθηκε διὰ τῶν ψηφισμάτων καὶ τινος τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεων ἠλευθέρωκε, καὶ διατελεῖ εὖνους ὧν τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ λέγει καὶ πράττει ὅ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθὸν ὑπὲρ τε αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἐπαινεῖσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς, τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως τοῦ στεφάνου ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὴν πρυτανεύουσαν φυλὴν καὶ τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην. εἶπεν Ἀριστόνικος Φρεάρριος.] 84

- 85 Ἔστιν οὖν ὅστις ὑμῶν οἶδέ τινα αἰσχύνῃ τῇ πόλει συμβᾶσαν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἢ χλευασμὸν ἢ γέλωτα, ἃ νῦν οὗτος ἔφη συμβήσεσθαι, εἰάν ἐγὼ στεφανῶμαι; καὶ μὴν ὅταν ἦ νέα καὶ γνώριμα πᾶσι τὰ πράγματα, εἰάν τε καλῶς ἔχῃ, χάριτος τυγχάνει, εἰάν θ' ὡς ἑτέρως, τιμωρίας. φαίνομαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ χάριτος τετυχηκῶς τότε, καὶ οὐ μέμψεως οὐδὲ τιμωρίας.
- 86 Οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων, ἐν οἷς ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη, πάντας ἀνωμολόγηται τὰ ἄριστα πράττειν τῇ πόλει, τῷ νικᾶν, ὅτ' ἐβουλεύεσθε, λέγων καὶ γράφων, τῷ καταπραχθῆναι τὰ γραφέντα καὶ στεφάνους ἐξ αὐτῶν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ πᾶσι γενέσθαι, τῷ θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ προσόδους ὡς ἀγαθῶν τούτων ὄντων ὑμᾶς πεποιῆσθαι.
- 87 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὁ Φίλιππος ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐξηλάθη, τοῖς μὲν ὅπλοις, τῇ δὲ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τοῖς ψηφίσμασι, κἂν διαρραγῶσί τινες τούτων, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ἕτερον κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτειχισμὸν ἐζήτει. ὁρῶν δ' ὅτι σίτω πάντων ἀνθρώπων πλείστῳ χρώμεθ' ἐπεισάκτω, βουλόμενος τῆς σιτοπομπίας κύριος γενέσθαι, παρελθὼν ἐπὶ Θράκης Βυζαντίους συμμάχους ὄντας αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡξίου συμπολεμεῖν τὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς πόλεμον, ὡς δ' οὐκ ἠθέλον οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔφασαν τὴν συμμαχίαν πεποιῆσθαι, λέγοντες ἀληθῆ, χάρακα βαλόμενος πρὸς τῇ πόλει καὶ μηχανήματ'



ἐπιστήσας ἐπολιόρκει. τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων 88  
ὅ τι μὲν προσῆκε ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς, οὐκ ἐπερωτήσω·  
δῆλον γὰρ ἐστὶν ἅπασιν. ἀλλὰ τίς ἦν ὁ βοηθή-  
σας τοῖς Βυζαντίοις καὶ σώσας αὐτούς; τίς ὁ  
κωλύσας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀλλοτριωθῆναι κατ'  
ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους; ὑμεῖς, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-  
ναῖοι. τὸ δ' ὑμεῖς ὅταν λέγω, τὴν πόλιν λέγω.  
τίς δ' ὁ τῇ πόλει λέγων καὶ γράφων καὶ πράττων  
καὶ ἀπλῶς ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὰ πράγματα ἀφειδῶς δούς;  
ἐγώ. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἡλίκα ταῦτα ὠφέλησεν ἅπαντας, 89  
οὐκέτ' ἐκ τοῦ λόγου δεῖ μαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ πεπεί-  
ρασθε· ὁ γὰρ τότε ἐνστάς πόλεμος ἄνευ τοῦ  
καλὴν δόξαν ἐνεγκεῖν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον  
ἀφθονωτέροις καὶ εὐνοτετέροις διῆγεν ὑμᾶς τῆς  
νῦν εἰρήνης, ἣν οὗτοι κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος τηροῦ-  
σιν οἱ χρηστοὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς μελλούσαις ἐλπίσιν, ὧν  
διαμάρτοιεν, καὶ μετάσχοιεν ὧν ὑμεῖς οἱ τὰ βέλ-  
τιστα βουλόμενοι τοὺς θεοὺς αἰτεῖτε, μὴ μετα-  
δοῖεν ὑμῖν ὧν αὐτοὶ προήρηνται. Λέγε δ' αὐτοῖς  
καὶ τοὺς τῶν Βυζαντίων στεφάνους καὶ τοὺς  
τῶν Περυνθίων, οἷς ἐστεφάνουν ἐκ τούτων τὴν  
πόλιν.

256. ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἀλαζονείαν ἀποβλέψαντες, ὅταν φῆ Βυζαν-  
τίους μὲν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν πρεσβεύσας ἐξελέσθαι τοῦ Φιλίππου,  
ἀποστησάμενοι δὲ Ἀκαρνανάς, ἐκπλήξαι δὲ Θεβαίους δημηγορήσας·  
οἶεται γὰρ ὑμᾶς εἰς τοσοῦτον εὐθειας ἤδη προβεβηκέναι, ὥστε  
καὶ ταῦτα ἀναπεισθήσεσθαι, ὥσπερ Πειθῶ τρέφοντας, ἀλλ' οὐ  
συνκοφάντην ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῇ πόλει.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΩΝ.

- 90 [Ἐπὶ ἱερομνάμονος Βοσπορίῳ Δαμάγητος ἐν τῇ ἀλίᾳ ἔλεξεν, ἐκ τῆς βωλῆς λαβὼν ῥήτραν. Ἐπειδὴ ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἐν τε τοῖς προγεγεναμένοις καιροῖς εὐνοέων διατελεῖ Βυζαντίους καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις καὶ συγγενέσι Περινθίοις καὶ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χρείας παρέσχηται, ἐν τε τῷ παρεστακότι καιρῷ Φιλίππῳ τῷ Μακεδόνοιο ἐπιστρατεύσαντος ἐπὶ τὰν χώραν καὶ τὰν πόλιν ἐπ' ἀναστάσει Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων καὶ τὰν χώραν δαίοντος καὶ δενδροκοπέοντος, βοηθήσας πλοίοις ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ σίτῳ καὶ βέλεσι καὶ ὀπλίταις ἐξείλετο ἀμὲ ἐκ τῶν μεγάλων κινδύνων καὶ ἀποκατέστασε τὰν πάτριον πολιτείαν καὶ τὼς νόμῳ καὶ τὼς
- 91 τάφῳ, δεδόχθῳ τῷ δάμῳ τῷ Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων Ἀθηναίοιο δόμεν ἐπιγαμίαν, πολιτείαν, ἔγκτασιν γᾶς καὶ οἰκιᾶν, προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι, πόθοδον ποτὶ τὰν βωλᾶν καὶ τὸν δᾶμον πρᾶτοις μετὰ τὰ ἱερά, καὶ τοῖς κατοικεῖν ἐθέλουσι τὰν πόλιν ἀλειουργήτοις ἦμεν πασᾶν τὰν λειτουργιᾶν· σταῆσαι δὲ καὶ εἰκόνας τρεῖς ἑκατακαπήχεις ἐν τῷ Βοσπορίῳ, στεφανούμενον τὸν Δᾶμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ὑπὸ τῷ δάμῳ τῷ Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων· ἀποστεῖλαι δὲ καὶ θεωρίας ἐς τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πανηγύριαι, Ἴσθμια καὶ Νέμεα καὶ Ὀλύμπια καὶ Πύθια, καὶ ἀνακαρῶσαι τὼς στεφάνῳ ὡς ἐστεφάνωται ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἐπιστέωνται οἱ Ἕλληνας πάντες Ἀθηναίων ἀρετὰν καὶ τὰν Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων εὐχαριστίαν.]

- 92 Λέγε καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ στεφάνους.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΧΕΡΡΟΝΗΣΙΤΩΝ.

[Χερρονησιτῶν οἱ κατοικοῦντες Σηστὸν Ἐλεοῦντα Μάδντον Ἀλωπεκόννησον στεφανοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀπὸ ταλάντων ἐξήκοντα, καὶ Χάριτος βωμῶν ἰδρύνονται καὶ Δήμου Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι πάντων μεγίστου ἀγαθῶν

παραίτιος γέγονε Χερρονησίταις, ἐξελόμενος ἐκ τῆς Φιλίππου καὶ ἀποδοὺς τὰς πατρίδας, τοὺς νόμους, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, τὰ ἱερά. καὶ ἐν τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα αἰῶνι παντὶ οὐκ ἐλλείψει εὐχαριστῶν καὶ ποιῶν ὃ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθόν. ταῦτα ἐψηφίσαντο ἐν τῷ κοινῷ βουλευτηρίῳ.]

Οὐκοῦν οὐ μόνον τὸ Χερρόνησον καὶ Βυζάντιον 93  
σῶσαι, οὐδὲ τὸ κωλύσαι τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ὑπὸ  
Φιλίππῳ γενέσθαι τότε, οὐδὲ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι τὴν  
πόλιν ἐκ τούτων ἢ προαίρεσις ἢ ἐμῇ καὶ ἢ πολι-  
τεία διεπράξατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἔδειξεν ἀνθρώ-  
ποις τὴν τε τῆς πόλεως καλοκαγαθίαν καὶ τὴν  
Φιλίππου κακίαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ σύμμαχος ὢν τοῖς  
Βυζαντίοις πολιορκῶν αὐτοὺς ἐωρᾶτο ὑπὸ πάντων,  
οὐ τί γένοιτ' ἂν αἰσχίον ἢ μιαιώτερον; ὑμεῖς δ' 94  
οἱ καὶ μεμψάμενοι πολλὰ καὶ δίκαια ἂν ἐκείνοις  
εἰκότως περὶ ὧν ἠγνωμονήκεσαν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν τοῖς  
ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις, οὐ μόνον οὐ μνησικακοῦντες  
οὐδὲ προϊέμενοι τοὺς ἀδικουμένους ἀλλὰ καὶ σώ-  
ζοντες ἐφαίνεσθε, ἐξ ὧν δόξαν καὶ εὐνοίαν παρὰ  
πάντων ἐκτᾶσθε. καὶ μὴν ὅτι μὲν πολλοὺς ἐστε-  
φανώκατ' ἤδη τῶν πολιτευομένων, ἅπαντες ἴσασι·  
δι' ὄντινα δ' ἄλλον ἢ πόλις ἐστεφάνωται, σύμ-  
βουλον λέγω καὶ ῥήτορα, πλὴν δι' ἐμέ, οὐδ' ἂν  
εἰς εἰπεῖν ἔχοι.

Ἵνα τοίνυν καὶ τὰς βλασφημίας, ἃς κατὰ τῶν 95  
Εὐβοέων καὶ τῶν Βυζαντίων ἐποιήσατο, εἴ τι δυσ-  
χερὲς αὐτοῖς ἐπέπρακτο πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὑπομιμνή-

σκων, συκοφαντίας οὔσας ἐπιδείξω μὴ μόνον τῷ  
 ψευδεῖς εἶναι (τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὑπάρχειν ὑμᾶς εἰδό-  
 τας ἠγοῦμαι) ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ, εἰ τὰ μάλιστ' ἦσαν  
 ἀληθεῖς, οὕτως ὡς ἐγὼ κέχρημαι τοῖς πράγμασι  
 συμφέρειν χρήσασθαι, ἐν ἧ δύο βούλομαι τῶν  
 καθ' ὑμᾶς πεπραγμένων καλῶν τῇ πόλει διεξελ-  
 θεῖν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν βραχέσιν· καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρα ἰδία  
 καὶ πόλιν κοινῇ πρὸς τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ὑπαρχόν-  
 96 των ἀεὶ δεῖ πειρᾶσθαι τὰ λοιπὰ πράττειν. ὑμεῖς  
 τοίνυν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Λακεδαιμονίων γῆς καὶ  
 θαλάττης ἀρχόντων καὶ τὰ κύκλω τῆς Ἀττικῆς  
 κατεχόντων ἀρμοσταῖς καὶ φρουραῖς, Εὐβοίαν,  
 Τάναγραν, τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἅπασαν, Μέγαρα, Αἴγι-  
 ναν, Κλεωνάς, ἄλλας νήσους, οὐ ναῦς, οὐ τείχη  
 τῆς πόλεως τότε κτησαμένης, ἐξήλθετε εἰς Ἀλιάρ-  
 τον καὶ πάλιν οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον εἰς  
 Κόρινθον, τῶν τότε Ἀθηναίων πόλλ' ἂν ἐχόντων  
 μνησικακῆσαι καὶ Κορινθίοις καὶ Θηβαίοις τῶν  
 περὶ τὸν Δεκελεικὸν πόλεμον πραχθέντων· ἀλλ'  
 97 οὐκ ἐποίουν τοῦτο, οὐδ' ἐγγύς. καίτοι τότε ταῦτα  
 ἀμφοτέρα, Αἰσχίνη, οὐθ' ὑπὲρ εὐεργετῶν ἐποίουν  
 οὗτ' ἀκίνδυνα ἐώρων. ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ ταῦτα προΐεντο  
 τοὺς καταφεύγοντας ἐφ' ἑαυτούς, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ εὐδο-  
 ξίας καὶ τιμῆς ἤθελον τοῖς δεινοῖς αὐτοὺς διδόναι,  
 ὀρθῶς καὶ καλῶς βουλευόμενοι. πέρασ μὲν γὰρ  
 ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ τοῦ βίου θάνατος, καὶ ἐν  
 οἰκίσκῳ τις αὐτὸν καθείρξας τηρῇ· δεῖ δὲ τοὺς

ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδρας ἐγχειρεῖν μὲν ἅπασιν ἀεὶ τοῖς  
καλοῖς, τὴν ἀγαθὴν προβαλλομένους ἐλπίδα, φέ-  
ρειν δ' ὅτι ἂν ὁ θεὸς διδῶ γενναίως. ταῦτ' ἐποί- 98  
ουν οἱ ὑμέτεροι πρόγονοι, ταῦθ' ὑμεῖς οἱ πρεσβύ-  
τεροι, οἱ Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ φίλους ὄντας οὐδ'  
εὐεργέτας, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἠδικηκό-  
τας καὶ μεγάλα, ἐπειδὴ Θηβαῖοι κρατήσαντες ἐν  
Λεύκτροις ἀνελεῖν ἐπεχείρουν, διεκωλύσατε, οὐ  
φοβηθέντες τὴν τότε Θηβαίοις ῥώμην καὶ δόξαν  
ὑπάρχουσαν, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ οἷα πεποιηκότων ἀνθρώ-  
πων κινδυνεύσετε διαλογισάμενοι. καὶ γάρ τοι 99  
πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐδείξατε ἐκ τούτων ὅτι κἂν  
ὀτιοῦν τις εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐξαμάρτη, τούτων τὴν ὀργὴν  
εἰς τᾶλλα ἔχετε, ἂν δ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἢ ἐλευ-  
θερίας κίνδυνός τις αὐτοὺς καταλαμβάνῃ, οὔτε  
μνησικακήσετε οὔθ' ὑπολογιεῖσθε. καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ  
τούτων μόνον οὕτως ἐσχήκατε, ἀλλὰ πάλιν σφε-  
τεριζομένων Θηβαίων τὴν Εὐβοίαν οὐ περιείдете,  
οὐδ' ὧν ὑπὸ Θεμίσωνος καὶ Θεοδώρου περὶ Ὀρω-  
πὸν ἠδίκησθε ἀνεμνήσθητε, ἀλλ' ἐβοηθήσατε καὶ  
τούτοις, τῶν ἐθελοντῶν τότε τριηράρχων πρῶτον  
γενομένων τῇ πόλει, ὧν εἷς ἦν ἐγώ. ἀλλ' οὐπω  
περὶ τούτων. καὶ καλὸν μὲν ἐποιήσατε καὶ τὸ 100  
σῶσαι τὴν νῆσον, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι τούτου κάλλιον  
τὸ καταστάντες κύριοι καὶ τῶν σωμαίων καὶ τῶν  
πόλεων ἀποδοῦναι ταῦτα δικαίως αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἐξη-  
μαρτηκόσιν εἰς ὑμᾶς, μηδὲν ὧν ἠδίκησθε ὑπολο-



- γισάμενοι. μυρία τοίνυν ἕτερα εἶπεῖν ἔχων παραλείπω, ναυμαχίας, ἐξόδους πεζάς, στρατείας καὶ πάσαι γεγοννίας καὶ νῦν ἐφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ἅς ἀπάσας ἢ πόλις τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας
- 101 καὶ σωτηρίας πεποιήται. εἶτ' ἐγὼ τεθεωρηκῶς ἐν τοσοῦτοις καὶ τοιούτοις τὴν πόλιν ὑπὲρ τῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις συμφερόντων ἐθέλουσαν ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τρόπον τινὰ τῆς βουλῆς οὔσης τί ἔμελλον κελεύσειν ἢ τί συμβουλεύσειν αὐτῇ ποιεῖν; μνησικακεῖν νῆ Δία πρὸς τοὺς βουλομένους σώζεσθαι, καὶ προφάσεις ζητεῖν δι' ἅς ἅπαντα προησόμεθα. καὶ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀπέκτεινέ με δικαίως, εἴ τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ πόλει καλῶν λόγῳ μόνον καταισχύνειν ἐπεχείρησα; ἐπεὶ τό γε ἔργον οὐκ ἂν ἐποιήσαθ' ὑμεῖς, ἀκριβῶς οἶδ' ἐγώ· εἰ γὰρ ἠβούλεσθε, τί ἦν ἐμποδῶν; οὐκ ἐξῆν; οὐχ ὑπήρχον οἱ ταῦτ' ἐροῦντες οὔτοι;
- 102 Βούλομαι τοίνυν ἐπανελθεῖν ἐφ' ἃ τούτων ἐξῆς ἐπολιτευόμην· καὶ σκοπεῖτε ἐν τούτοις πάλιν αὖ, τί τὸ τῇ πόλει βέλτιστον ἦν. ὀρῶν γάρ, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ ναυτικὸν ὑμῶν καταλυόμενον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλουσίους ἀτελεῖς ἀπὸ μικρῶν ἀναλωμάτων γιγνομένους, τοὺς δὲ μέτρια ἢ μικρὰ κεκτημένους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπολλύοντας, ἔτι δ' ὑστερίζουσιν ἐκ τούτων τὴν πόλιν τῶν καιρῶν, ἔθηκα νόμον καθ' ὃν μὲν τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἠνάγκασα τοὺς πλουσίους, τοὺς δὲ πένητας ἔπανσ' ἀδικου-

μένους, τῇ πόλει δ' ὅπερ ἦν χρησιμώτατον, ἐν  
 καιρῷ γίνεσθαι τὰς παρασκευὰς ἐποίησα. καὶ 103  
 γραφεῖς τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσῆλθον καὶ  
 ἀπέφυγον, καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων ὁ διώκων  
 οὐκ ἔλαβεν. καίτοι πόσα χρήματα τοὺς ἡγεμό-  
 νας τῶν συμμοριῶν ἢ τοὺς δευτέρους καὶ τρίτους  
 οἶεσθέ μοι διδόναι, ὥστε μάλιστα μὲν μὴ θεῖναι  
 τὸν νόμον τοῦτον, εἰ δὲ μή, καταβάλλοντα ἔαν ἐν  
 ὑπωμοσίᾳ; τοσαῦτ', ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅσα  
 ὀκνήσαιμ' ἂν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν. καὶ ταῦτ' εἰκό- 104  
 τως ἔπραττον ἐκεῖνοι. ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκ μὲν τῶν  
 προτέρων νόμων συνεκκαίδεκα λειτουργεῖν, αὐτοῖς  
 μὲν μικρὰ καὶ οὐδὲν ἀναλίσκουσι, τοὺς δ' ἀπό-  
 ρους τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπιτρίβουσιν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐμοῦ  
 νόμου τὸ γιγνόμενον κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ἕκαστον  
 τιθέναι, καὶ δυοῖν ἐφάνη τριήραρχος ὁ τῆς μιᾶς  
 ἕκτος καὶ δέκατος πρότερον συντελής· οὐδὲ γὰρ  
 τριηράρχους ἔτι ὠνόμαζον ἑαυτούς, ἀλλὰ συν-  
 τελεῖς. ὥστε δὴ ταῦτα λυθῆναι καὶ μὴ τὰ δίκαια  
 ποιεῖν ἀναγκασθῆναι, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅ τι οὐκ ἐδίδοσαν.  
 Καί μοι λέγε πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ψήφισμα καθ' ὃ 105  
 εἰσῆλθον τὴν γραφήν, εἶτα τοὺς καταλόγους, τόν  
 τ' ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου νόμου καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὸν ἐμόν.  
 λέγε.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Πολυκλέους, μηνὸς βοηδρομιῶνος ἕκτη ἐπὶ  
 δέκα, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Ἴπποθοωντίδος, Δημοσθένης Δημο-

σθένους Παιανιεύς εισηγήκε νόμον εἰς τὸ τριηραρχικὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ πρότερον, καθ' ὃν αἱ συντέλειαι ἦσαν τῶν τριηράρχων· καὶ ἐπεχειροτόνησεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος· καὶ ἀπήνεγκε παρανόμων Δημοσθένει Πατροκλῆς Φλυεύς, καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων οὐ λαβῶν ἀπέτισε τὰς πεντακοσίας δραχμάς.]

106 Φέρε δὴ καὶ τὸν καλὸν κατάλογον.

#### ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ.

[Τοὺς τριηράρχους καλεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη συνεκκαίδεκα ἐκ τῶν ἐν τοῖς λόχοις συντελειῶν, ἀπὸ εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ἐτῶν εἰς τετταράκοντα, ἐπὶ ἴσον τῇ χορηγίᾳ χρωμένους.]

Φέρε δὴ παρὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου κατάλογον.

#### ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ.

[Τοὺς τριηράρχους αἰρεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας κατὰ τήμησιν, ἀπὸ ταλάντων δέκα· εἰ δὲ πλειόνων ἢ οὐσία ἀποτετιμημένη ἢ χρημάτων, κατὰ τὸν ἀναλογισμὸν ἕως τριῶν πλοίων καὶ ὑπηρετικῆς ἢ λειτουργίας ἔστω. κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ ἀναλογίαν ἔστω καὶ οἷς ἐλάττων οὐσία· ἐστὶ τῶν δέκα ταλάντων, εἰς συντέλειαν συναγομένοις εἰς τὰ δέκα τάλαντα.]

107 Ἐὰν μικρὰ βοηθῆσαι τοῖς πένησιν ὑμῶν δοκῶ, ἢ μικρὰ ἀναλώσαι ἀντὶ τοῦ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν οἱ πλούσιοι; οὐ τοίνυν μόνον τῷ μὴ καθυφεῖναι ταῦτα σεμνύνομαι, οὐδὲ τῷ γραφεῖς ἀποφεύγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ συμφέροντα θείναι τὸν νόμον καὶ τῷ πείραν ἔργῳ δεδωκέναι. πάντα γὰρ τὸν πόλεμον τῶν ἀποστόλων γιγνομένων

κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν ἑμὸν οὐχ ἰκετηρίαν ἔθηκε  
 τριήραρχος οὐδείς πώποτ' ἀδικούμενος παρ' ὑμῖν,  
 οὐκ ἐν Μουνυχίᾳ ἐκαθέζετο, οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστο-  
 λέων ἐδέθη, οὐ τριήρης οὐτ' ἔξω καταλειφθεῖσα  
 ἀπόλετο τῇ πόλει, οὐτ' αὐτοῦ ἀπελείφθη οὐ δυνα-  
 μένη ἀνάγεσθαι. καίτοι κατὰ τοὺς προτέρους 108  
 νόμους ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο. τὸ δ' αἴτιον, ἐν  
 τοῖς πένησιν ἦν τὸ λειτουργεῖν· πολλὰ δὴ τὰ  
 ἀδύνατα συνέβαινε. ἐγὼ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων εἰς  
 τοὺς εὐπόρους μετήνεγκα τὰς τριηραρχίας· πάντ'  
 οὖν τὰ δέοντα ἐγίγνετο. καὶ μὴν καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ  
 τοῦτο ἄξιός εἰμι ἐπαίνου τυχεῖν, ὅτι πάντα τὰ  
 τοιαῦτα προηρούμην πολιτεύματα, ἀφ' ὧν ἅμα  
 δόξαι καὶ τιμαὶ καὶ δυνάμεις συνέβαινον τῇ πό-  
 λει, βάσκανον δὲ καὶ πικρὸν καὶ κακότηδες οὐδέν  
 ἔστι πολίτευμα ἑμὸν, οὐδὲ ταπεινόν, οὐδὲ τῆς πό-  
 λεως ἀνάξιον. ταῦτὸ τοίνυν ἦθος ἔχων ἔν τε 109  
 τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πολιτεύμασι καὶ ἐν τοῖς  
 Ἑλληνικοῖς φανήσομαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τῇ πόλει  
 τὰς παρὰ τῶν πλουσίων χάριτας μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν  
 πολλῶν δίκαια εἰλόμην, οὐτ' ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς  
 τὰ Φιλίππου δῶρα καὶ τὴν ξενίαν ἠγάπησα ἀντὶ  
 τῶν κοινῇ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησι συμφερόντων.

Ἐγοῦμαι τοίνυν λοιπὸν εἶναί μοι περὶ τοῦ κη- 110  
 ρύγματος εἰπεῖν καὶ τῶν εὐθυνῶν· τὸ γὰρ ὡς τὰ  
 ἄριστα τε ἔπραττον καὶ διὰ παντὸς εὖνους εἰμι  
 καὶ πρόθυμος εὔ ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ἰκανῶς ἐκ τῶν εἰρη-

μένων δεδηλωσθαί μοι νομίζω. καίτοι τὰ μέγιστα γε τῶν πεπολιτευμένων καὶ πεπραγμένων ἔμαντῶ παραλείπω, ὑπολαμβάνων πρῶτον μὲν ἐφεξῆς τοὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ παρανόμου λόγους ἀποδοῦναί με δεῖν, εἶτα, κὰν μηδὲν εἶπω περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πολιτευμάτων, ὁμοίως παρ' ὑμῶν ἐκάστω τὸ συνειδὸς ὑπάρχειν μοι.

III Τῶν μὲν οὖν λόγων, οὓς οὗτος ἄνω καὶ κάτω διακυκῶν ἔλεγε περὶ τῶν παραγεγραμμένων νόμων, οὔτε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οἶμαι ὑμᾶς μανθάνειν οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἡδυνάμην συνεῖναι τοὺς πολλοὺς· ἀπλῶς δὲ τὴν ὀρθὴν περὶ τῶν δικαίων διαλέξομαι. τοσοῦτου γὰρ δέω λέγειν ὡς οὐκ εἰμι ὑπεύθυνος, ὃ νῦν οὗτος διέβαλλε καὶ διωρίζετο,

13. Λέξουσι δέ, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἕτερον λόγον ὑπεναντίον τῷ ἀρτίως εἰρημένῳ, ὡς ἄρα, ὅσα τις αἰρετὸς ὢν πράττει κατὰ ψήφισμα, οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα ἀρχή, ἀλλ' ἐπιμέλειά τις καὶ διακονία· ἀρχὰς δὲ φήσουσιν ἐκείνας εἶναι, ἃς οἱ θεσμοθέται ἀποκληροῦσιν ἐν τῷ Θησειῷ, κἀκείνας, ἃς ὁ δῆμος εἴωθε χειροτονεῖν ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις, στρατηγῶν καὶ ἱππάρχων καὶ τὰς μετὰ τούτων ἀρχὰς, τὰς δ' ἄλλας ταύτας πραγματείας προστεταγμένους κατὰ ψήφισμα. 14. ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους τοὺς τούτων νόμον ὑμέτερον παρέξομαι, ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐνομοθετήσατε λύσειν ἡγούμενοι τὰς τοιαύτας προφάσεις, ἐν ᾧ διαρρήδην γέγραπται, “τὰς χειροτονητάς” φησὶν “ἀρχὰς” ἀπάσας ἐνὶ περιλαβῶν ὀνόματι ὃ νομοθέτης, καὶ προσειπὼν ἀρχὰς ἀπάσας εἶναι ἃς ὁ δῆμος χειροτονεῖ, “καὶ τοὺς ἐπιστάτας” φησὶ “τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων.” ἔστι δὲ ὁ Δημοσθένης τειχοποιός, ἐπιστάτης τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν ἔργων· “καὶ πάντας, ὅσοι διαχειρίζουσί τι τῶν τῆς πόλεως πλέον ἢ τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας, καὶ ὅσοι λαμβάνουσιν ἡγεμονίας δικαστηρίων.”



ὥσθ' ἅπαντα τὸν βίον ὑπεύθυνος εἶναι ὁμολογῶ  
 ὧν ἢ διακεχειρίκα ἢ πεπολίτευμαι παρ' ὑμῖν.  
 ὧν μέντοι γε ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ἐπαγγειλάμενος <sup>112</sup>  
 δέδωκα τῷ δήμῳ, οὐδεμίαν ἡμέραν ὑπεύθυνος  
 εἶναί φημι (ἀκούεις Αἰσχίνη;) οὐδ' ἄλλον οὐδένα,  
 οὐδ' ἂν τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων τις ὧν τύχη. τίς  
 γάρ ἐστι νόμος τοσαύτης ἀδικίας καὶ μισανθρω-  
 πίας μεστός, ὥστε τὸν δόντα τι τῶν ἰδίων καὶ  
 ποιήσαντα πρᾶγμα φιλόανθρωπον καὶ φιλόδωρον  
 τῆς χάριτος μὲν ἀποστερεῖν, εἰς τοὺς συκοφάντας  
 δὲ ἄγειν, καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ τὰς εὐθύνας ὧν ἔδωκεν  
 ἐφιστάναι; οὐδὲ εἰς. εἰ δέ φησιν οὗτος, δεῖξάτω,  
 καὶ γὰρ στέρξω καὶ σιωπήσομαι. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, <sup>113</sup>  
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλ' οὗτος συκοφαντῶν, ὅτι ἐπὶ  
 τῷ θεωρικῷ τότε ὧν ἐπέδωκα τὰ χρήματα, “ἐπή-  
 νεσεν αὐτόν,” φησιν, “ὑπεύθυνον ὄντα.” οὐ περι-  
 τούτων γε οὐδενός, ὧν ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς

17. Πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὸν ἄφυκτον λόγον, ὃν φησι Δημοσθένης, βραχέα βούλομαι προειπεῖν. Λέξει γὰρ οὗτος, “τειχοποιός εἰμι· ὁμολογῶ· ἀλλ' ἐπιδέδωκα τῇ πόλει μνᾶς ἑκατὸν καὶ τὸ ἔργον μείζον ἐξείργασμαι. Τίνος οὖν εἰμι ὑπεύθυνος, εἰ μὴ τίς ἐστιν εὐνοίας εὐθύνη;” Πρὸς δὴ ταύτην τὴν πρόφασιν ἀκούσατέ μου λέγοντος καὶ δίκαια καὶ ὑμῖν συμφέροντα. Ἐν γὰρ ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει οὕτως ἀρχαία οὖση καὶ τηλικαύτῃ τὸ μέγεθος οὐδεὶς ἐστιν ἀνυπεύθυνος τῶν καὶ ὀπωσοῦν πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσεληλυθότων. 23. Ὅταν τοίνυν μάλιστα θρασύνηται Δημοσθένης λέγων, ὡς διὰ τὴν ἐπίδοσιν οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπεύθυνος, ἐκεῖνο αὐτῷ ὑποβάλλετε· “οὐκ οὖν ἐχρῆν σε, ὦ Δημοσθένης, εἶσαι τὸν τῶν λογιστῶν κήρυκα κηρῦξαι τὸ πάτριον καὶ ἔννομον κήρυγμα τοῦτο, τίς

ἐπέδωκα, ὧ συκοφάντα. ἀλλὰ καὶ τειχοποιὸς  
 ἦσθα. καὶ διὰ γε τοῦτο ὀρθῶς ἐπηνούμην, ὅτι  
 τὰνηλωμένα ἔδωκα καὶ οὐκ ἐλογιζόμην. ὁ μὲν  
 γὰρ λογισμὸς εὐθυνῶν καὶ τῶν ἐξετασόντων  
 προσδεῖται, ἡ δὲ δωρεὰ χάριτος καὶ ἐπαίνου  
 δικαία ἐστὶ τυγχάνειν· διόπερ ταῦτ' ἔγραψεν  
 114 ὁδὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ. ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτα οὐ μόνον ἐν  
 τοῖς νόμοις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἠθεσιν  
 ὄρισταί, ἐγὼ ῥαδίως πολλαχόθεν δείξω. πρῶτον  
 μὲν γὰρ Ναυσικλῆς στρατηγῶν, ἐφ' οἷς ἀπὸ τῶν  
 ἰδίων προεῖτο, πολλάκις ἐστεφάνωται ὑφ' ὑμῶν·  
 εἶθ' ὅτε τὰς ἀσπίδας Διότιμος ἔδωκε καὶ πάλιν  
 Χαρίδημος, ἐστεφανοῦντο· εἶθ' οὐτοσὶ Νεοπτό-  
 λεμος πολλῶν ἔργων ἐπιστάτης ὢν, ἐφ' οἷς ἐπέ-  
 δωκε, τετίμηται. σχέτλιον γὰρ ἂν εἶη τοῦτό  
 γε, εἰ τῷ τινα ἀρχὴν ἄρχοντι ἢ διδόναι τῇ πό-  
 λει τὰ ἑαυτοῦ διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ ἐξέσται, ἢ τῶν  
 δοθέντων ἀντὶ τοῦ κομίσασθαι χάριν εὐθύνας  
 115 ὑφέξει. Ὅτι τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, λέγε τὰ  
 ψηφίσματά μοι τὰ τούτοις γεγενημένα αὐτὰ  
 λαβών. λέγε.

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βούλεται κατηγορεῖν; ἔασον ἀμφισβητῆσαι σοι τὸν βουλόμενον  
 τῶν πολιτῶν, ὡς οὐκ ἐπέδωκας, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πολλῶν ὧν ἔχεις εἰς  
 τὴν τῶν τειχῶν οἰκοδομίαν μικρὰ κατέθηκας, δέκα τάλαντα εἰς  
 ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εἰληφώς. μὴ ἄρπαζε τὴν φιλοτιμίαν, μηδὲ  
 ἐξαιροῦ τῶν δικαστῶν τὰς ψήφους ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν, μηδ' ἔμπρο-  
 σθεν τῶν νόμων, ἀλλ' ὕστερος πολιτεύου. ταῦτα γὰρ ὀρθοῖ τὴν  
 δημοκρατίαν."

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

[Ἄρχων Δημόνικος Φλυεύς, βοηδρομιῶνος ἕκτη μετ' εἰκάδα, γνώμη βουλῆς καὶ δήμου, Καλλίας Φρεάρριος εἶπεν ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ στεφανῶσαι Ναυσικλέα τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὄπλων, ὅτι Ἀθηναίων ὀπλιτῶν δυσχιλίων ὄντων ἐν Ἰμβρῳ καὶ βοηθούτων τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν νῆσον, οὐ δυναμένου Φίλωνος τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως κεχειροτονημένου διὰ τοὺς χειμῶνας πλεῦσαι καὶ μισθοδοτῆσαι τοὺς ὀπλίτας, ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ἔδωκε καὶ οὐκ εἰσέπραξε τὸν δῆμον, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον Διονυσίοις τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς.]

## ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Εἶπε Καλλίας Φρεάρριος, πρυτάνεων λεγόντων βουλῆς γνώμη, 116  
ἐπειδὴ Χαρίδημος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, ἀποσταλεῖς εἰς Σαλαμίνα, καὶ Διότιμος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἰππέων, ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μάχῃ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινῶν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων σκυλευθέντων, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων καθόπλισαν τοὺς νεανίσκους ἀσπίσιν ὀκτακόσιας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ στεφανῶσαι Χαρίδημον καὶ Διότιμον χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι Παναθηναίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις ἐν τῷ γυμνικῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ Διονυσίοις τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς· τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι θεσμοθέτας, πρυτάνεις, ἀγωνοθέτας.]

Τούτων ἕκαστος, Αἰσχίνη, τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς ἧς 117  
ἦρχεν ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ἐφ' οἷς δ' ἔστεφανοῦτο, οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος. οὐκοῦν οὐδ' ἐγώ· ταῦτά γὰρ δίκαιά ἐστὶ μοι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις δῆπου. ἐπέδωκα; ἐπαινοῦμαι διὰ ταῦτα, οὐκ ὦν ὦν ἔδωκα ὑπεύθυνος. ἦρχον; καὶ δέδωκά γε εὐθύνας ἐκείνων, οὐχ ὦν ἐπέδωκα. νῆ Δί', ἀλλ'

ἀδίκως ἤρξα; εἶτα παρών, ὅτε με εἰσῆγον οἱ λογισταί, οὐ κατηγορεῖς;

- 118 Ἵνα τοίνυν ἴδητε ὅτι αὐτὸς οὗτός μοι μαρτυρεῖ ἐφ' οἷς οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος ἦν ἐστεφανῶσθαι, λαβὼν ἀνάγνωθι τὸ ψήφισμα ὅλον τὸ γραφέν μοι. οἷς γὰρ οὐκ ἐγράψατο τοῦ προβουλεύματος, τούτοις, ἂ διώκει, συκοφαντῶν φανήσεται. λέγε.

#### ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Εὐθυκλέους, πυανειψιώνος ἐνάτη ἀπιόντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Οἰνηίδος, Κτησιφῶν Λεωσθένους Ἀναφλύστιος εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς γενόμενος ἐπιμελητῆς τῆς τῶν τειχῶν ἐπισκευῆς καὶ προσαναλώσας εἰς τὰ ἔργα ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας τρία τάλαντα ἐπέδωκε ταῦτα τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θεωρικοῦ κατασταθεῖς ἐπέδωκε τοῖς ἐκ πασῶν τῶν φυλῶν θεωρικοῖς ἑκατὸν μνᾶς εἰς θυσίας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἐπαινεῖσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιά ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ καλοκαγαθίας ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς· τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὸν ἀγνωσθένην.]

- 119 Οὐκοῦν ἂ μὲν ἐπέδωκα, ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ὧν οὐδὲν σὺ γέγραψαι· ἂ δέ φησιν ἢ βουλὴ δεῖν ἀντὶ τούτων γενέσθαι μοι, ταῦτ' ἔσθ' ἂ διώκεις. τὸ λαβεῖν οὖν τὰ διδόμενα ὁμολογῶν ἔννομον εἶναι, τὸ χάριν τούτων ἀποδοῦναι παράνομων γράφῃ. ὁ δὲ παμπόνηρος ἄνθρωπος καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸς καὶ

βάσκανος ὄντως ποῖός τις ἂν εἶη πρὸς θεῶν ;  
οὐχ ὁ τοιοῦτος ;

Καὶ μὴν περὶ τοῦ γ' ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κηρύττε- 120  
σθαι, τὸ μὲν μυριάκις μυρίους κεκηρῦχθαι παρα-  
λείπω καὶ τὸ πολλάκις αὐτὸς ἐστεφανῶσθαι πρό-

32. Ὡς τοίνυν καὶ τὴν ἀνάρρησιν τοῦ στεφάνου παρανόμως ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι κελεύει γίνεσθαι, καὶ τοῦθ' ὑμᾶς διδάξω. ὁ γὰρ νόμος διαρρήδην κελεύει, εἰ μὲν τινα στεφανοὶ ἢ βουλή, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἀνακηρύττεσθαι, εἰ δὲ ὁ δῆμος, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ. καὶ μοι λέγε τὸν νόμον.

#### ΝΟΜΟΣ.

33. Οὗτος ὁ νόμος, ὃ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ μάλα καλῶς ἔχει. οὐ γάρ, οἶμαι, ᾤετο δεῖν ὁ νομοθέτης τὸν ῥήτορα σεμνύνεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἕξωθεν, ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει τιμώμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ μὴ ἐργολαβεῖν ἐν τοῖς κηρύγμασιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν νομοθέτης οὕτως· ὁ δὲ Κτησιφῶν πῶς ; ἀναγίγνωσκε τὸ ψηφισμα.

#### ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

34. Ἀκούετε, ὃ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι ὁ μὲν νομοθέτης κελεύει ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ἐν Πυκνῇ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀνακηρύττειν τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμενον, ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ, Κτησιφῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, οὐ τοὺς νόμους μόνον ὑπερβάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τόπον μετενεγκών, οὐδὲ ἐκκλησιαζόντων Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ τραγωδῶν ἀγωνιζομένων καινῶν, οὐδ' ἐναντίον τοῦ δήμου, ἀλλ' ἐναντίον τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἢ ἡμῖν συνειδῶσιν, οἷον ἄνδρα τιμώμεν. 35. οὕτω τοίνυν περιφανῶς παράνομα γεγραφώς, παραταχθεὶς μετὰ Δημοσθένους ἐποίσει τέχνας τοῖς νόμοις· ἃς ἐγὼ δηλώσω καὶ προερῶ ὑμῖν, ἵνα μὴ λάθητε ἐξαπατηθέντες. Οὗτοι γάρ, ὡς μὲν οὐκ ἀπαγορεύουσιν οἱ νόμοι τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμενον μὴ κηρύττειν ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, οὐχ ἕξουσι λέγειν, οἴσουσι δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀπολογίαν τὸν Διονυσιακὸν νόμον, καὶ χρῆσονται τοῦ νόμου μέρει τινὶ κλέπτοντες τὴν ἀκρόασιν



τερον. ἀλλὰ πρὸς θεῶν οὕτω σκαιὸς εἶ καὶ ἀναίσθητος, Αἰσχίνη, ὥστ' οὐ δύνασαι λογίσασθαι ὅτι τῷ μὲν στεφανουμένῳ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει ζῆλον ὁ στέφανος, ὅπου ἂν ἀναρρηθῆ, τοῦ δὲ τῶν στεφανούντων ἕνεκα συμφέροντος ἐν τῷ

ἡμῶν, 36. καὶ παρέξονται νόμον οὐδὲν προσήκοντα τῆδε τῇ γραφῇ, καὶ λέξουσιν ὡς εἰσὶ τῇ πόλει δύο νόμοι κείμενοι περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων, εἷς μὲν ὃν νῦν ἐγὼ παρέχομαι διαρρήδην ἀπαγορεύοντα τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμενον μὴ κηρύττεσθαι ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἕτερον δ' εἶναι νόμον φήσουσιν ἐναντίον τούτῳ, τὸν δεδωκότα ἐξουσίαν ποιείσθαι τὴν ἀνάρρησιν τοῦ στεφάνου τραγωδοῖς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, ἐν ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος· κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον φήσουσι γεγραφέναι τὸν Κτησιφῶντα. 40. Εἰ τοίνυν, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀληθῆς ἦν ὁ παρὰ τούτων λόγος καὶ ἦσαν δύο κείμενοι νόμοι περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων, ἐξ ἀνάγκης, οἶμαι, τῶν μὲν θεσμοθετῶν ἐξευρόντων, τῶν δὲ πρυτάνεων ἀποδόντων τοῖς νομοθέταις ἀνήρητ' ἂν ὁ ἕτερος τῶν νόμων, ἦτοι ὁ τὴν ἐξουσίαν δεδωκὼς ἀνειπεῖν ἢ ὁ ἀπαγορεύων· ὅποτε δὲ μηδὲν τούτων γεγένηται, φανερώς δὴ πον ἐξελέγχονται οὐ μόνον ψευδῆ λέγοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντελῶς ἀδύνατα γενέσθαι. 44. Συναιδῶν δὲ τις ταῦτα νομοθέτης τίθησι νόμον οὐδὲν ἐπικοινωνοῦντα τῷ περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανουμένων νόμῳ, οὔτε λύσας ἐκεῖνον (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἠνωχλεῖτο, ἀλλὰ τὸ θέατρον), οὔτ' ἐναντίον τοῖς πρότερον κειμένοις νόμοις τιθεῖς (οὐ γὰρ ἔξεστιν), ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν ἄνευ ψηφίσματος ἡμετέρου στεφανουμένων ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν καὶ δημοτῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν τοὺς οἰκέτας ἀπελευθεροῦντων καὶ περὶ τῶν ξενικῶν στεφάνων, καὶ διαρρήδην ἀπαγορεύει μὴτ' οἰκέτην ἀπελευθεροῦν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ μὴθ' ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν ἢ δημοτῶν ἀναγορεύεσθαι στεφανούμενον, μὴθ' ὑπ' ἄλλου, φησί, μηδενός, ἢ ἄτιμον εἶναι τὸν κήρυκα. 45. Ὅταν οὖν ἀποδείξῃ τοῖς μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς στεφανουμένοις εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἀναρρηθῆναι, τοῖς δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανουμένοις εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τοῖς δ' ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτῶν στεφανουμέ-

θεάτρῳ γίγνεται τὸ κήρυγμα; οἱ γὰρ ἀκούσαντες ἅπαντες εἰς τὸ ποιεῖν εὖ τὴν πόλιν προτρέπονται, καὶ τοὺς ἀποδιδόντας τὴν χάριν μᾶλλον ἐπαινοῦσι τοῦ στεφανουμένου· διόπερ τὸν νόμον τοῦτον ἡ πόλις γέγραφεν. Λέγε δ' αὐτόν μοι τὸν νόμον λαβών.

## ΝΟΜΟΣ.

[Ὅσους στεφανοῦσί τινες τῶν δῆμων, τὰς ἀναγορεύσεις τῶν στεφάνων ποιεῖσθαι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐκάστους τοῖς ἰδίῳις δῆμοις, ἐὰν μὴ τινὰς ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἢ ἡ βουλὴ στεφανοῖ· τούτους δ' ἐξεῖναι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις ἀναγορεύεσθαι.]

Ἄκουεις, Αἰσχίνη, τοῦ νόμου λέγοντος σαφῶς, 121  
πλὴν ἐὰν τινὰς ὁ δῆμος ἢ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσηται·  
τούτους δὲ ἀναγορευέτω. τί οὖν, ὦ ταλαίπωρε,  
συκοφαντεῖς; τί λόγους πλάττετε; τί σαυτὸν  
οὐκ ἔλληβορίζετε ἐπὶ τούτοις; ἀλλ' οὐδ' αἰσχύνῃ

νοῖς καὶ φυλετῶν ἀπειρή μὴ κηρύττεσθαι τοῖς τραγωδοῖς, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἐρανίζων στεφάνους καὶ κηρύγματα ψευδῆ φιλοτιμίαν κτᾶται, προσαπέιρη δ' ἐν τῷ νόμῳ μηδ' ὑπὸ ἄλλου μηδενὸς ἀνακηρύττεσθαι ἀπούσης βουλῆς καὶ δῆμου καὶ φυλετῶν καὶ δημοτῶν, — ὅταν δέ τις ταῦτα ἀφέλη, τί τὸ καταλειπόμενόν ἐστι πλὴν οἱ ξενικοὶ στέφανοι; 48. Ἐπειδὴν τοῖνυν ἐξαπατῶντες ὑμᾶς λέγωσιν, ὡς προσγέγραπται ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ἐξεῖναι στεφανοῦν, ἐὰν ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος, ἀπομνημονεύετε αὐτοῖς ὑποβάλλειν· ναὶ, εἴ γέ σε τίς ἄλλη πόλις στεφανοῖ· εἰ δὲ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων, ἀποδέδεικταί σοι τόπος, ὅπου δεῖ τοῦτο γενέσθαι, ἀπειρηταί σοι ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας μὴ κηρύττεσθαι. τὸ γὰρ “ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ” ὅ τι ἔστιν, ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν λέγε· οὐ γὰρ ἀποδείξεις, ὡς ἔννομα γέγραφας.

φθόνου δίκην εισάγειν, οὐκ ἀδικήματος οὐδενός, καὶ νόμους μεταποιῶν, τῶν δ' ἀφαιρῶν μέρη, οὓς ὅλους δίκαιον ἦν ἀναγιγνώσκεισθαι τοῖς γε ὁμω  
 122 μοκόσι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ψηφιέισθαι. ἔπειτα τοιαῦτα ποιῶν λέγεις ἅ δεῖ προσεῖναι τῷ δημοτικῷ, ὡσπερ ἀνδριάντα ἐκδεδωκῶς κατὰ συγγραφὴν, εἴτ' οὐκ ἔχοντα ἅ προσῆκεν ἐκ τῆς συγγρα-

168. Ναί, ἀλλὰ δημοτικός ἐστιν. ἔαν μὲν τοίνυν πρὸς τὴν εὐφημίαν τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ ἀποβλέπητε, ἐξαπατηθήσεσθε, ὡσπερ καὶ πρότερον, ἔαν δ' εἰς τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οὐκ ἐξαπατηθήσεσθε. ἐκείνως δὲ ἀπολάβετε παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον. ἐγὼ μὲν μεθ' ὑμῶν λογιούμαι, ἅ δεῖ ὑπάρξαι ἐν τῇ φύσει τῷ δημοτικῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ σώφρονι, καὶ πάλιν ἀντιθήσω, ποιῶν τινα εἰκὸς ἐστὶν εἶναι τὸν ὀλιγαρχικὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ φαῦλον· ὑμῖς δ' ἀντιθέντες ἐκάτερα τούτων θεωρήσατ' αὐτόν, μὴ ὀποτέρου τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' ὀποτέρου τοῦ βίου ἐστίν. 169. οἶμαι τοίνυν ἅπαντας ἂν ὁμολογήσειεν ὑμᾶς τάδε δεῖν ὑπάρξαι τῷ δημοτικῷ, πρῶτον μὲν ἐλεύθερον αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ πρὸς πατρός καὶ πρὸς μητρός, ἵνα μὴ διὰ τὴν περὶ τὸ γένος ἀτυχίαν δυσμενῆς ἢ τοῖς νόμοις, οἱ σώζουσι τὴν δημοκρατίαν, δεῦτερον δ' ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων εὐεργεσίαν τινα αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὑπάρχειν, ἢ τό γ' ἀναγκαϊότατον μηδεμίαν ἔχθραν, ἵνα μὴ βοηθῶν τοῖς τῶν προγόνων ἀτυχήμασι κακῶς ἐπιχειρῆ ποιεῖν τὴν πόλιν. 170. τρίτον σώφρονα καὶ μέτριον χρῆ πεφυκέναι αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν δίαίταν, ὅπως μὴ διὰ τὴν ἀσέλγειαν τῆς δαπάνης δωροδοκῆ κατὰ τοῦ δήμου, τέταρτον εὐγνώμονα καὶ δυνατὸν εἰπεῖν· καλὸν γὰρ τὴν μὲν διάνοιαν προαιρεῖσθαι τὰ βέλτιστα, τὴν δὲ παιδείαν τὴν τοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ τὸν λόγον πείθειν τοὺς ἀκούοντας· εἰ δὲ μὴ, τὴν γ' εὐγνωμοσύνην αἰεὶ προτακτέον τοῦ λόγου. πέμπτον ἀνδρείον εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν, ἵνα μὴ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ τοὺς πολέμους ἐγκαταλείπη τὸν δῆμον. τὸν δ' ὀλιγαρχικὸν πάντα δεῖ τὰναντία τούτων ἔχειν· τί γὰρ δεῖ πάλιν διεξιέναι; σκέψασθε δὴ, τί τούτων ὑπάρχει Δημοσθένει· ὁ δὲ λογισμὸς ἔστω ἐπὶ πᾶσι δίκαιοις.

φῆς κομιζόμενος, ἢ λόγῳ τοὺς δημοτικούς ἀλλ'  
 οὐ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς πολιτεύμασι γινω-  
 σκομένους. καὶ βοᾷς ῥητὰ καὶ ἄρρητα ὀνομάζων,  
 ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀμάξης, ἃ σοὶ καὶ τῷ σῷ γένοι πρόσ-  
 εστιν, οὐκ ἐμοί. καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο, ὧ ἄνδρες <sup>123</sup>  
 Ἀθηναῖοι. ἐγὼ λοιδορίαν κατηγορίας τούτῳ δια-  
 φέρειν ἠγοῦμαι, τῷ τὴν μὲν κατηγορίαν ἀδικήματ'  
 ἔχειν, ὧν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις εἰσὶν αἱ τιμωρίαι, τὴν δὲ  
 λοιδορίαν βλασφημίας, ἃς κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν  
 τοῖς ἐχθροῖς περὶ ἀλλήλων συμβαίνει λέγειν.  
 οἰκοδομηῆσαι δὲ τοὺς προγόνους ταυτὶ τὰ δικα-  
 στήρια ὑπέιληφα οὐχ ἵνα συλλέξαντες ὑμᾶς εἰς  
 ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων κακῶς τὰ ἀπόρρητα λέγωμεν  
 ἀλλήλους, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐξελέγχωμεν, εἴαν τις ἠδικη-  
 κῶς τι τυγχάνῃ τὴν πόλιν. ταῦτα τοίνυν εἰδὼς <sup>124</sup>  
 Αἰσχίνης οὐδὲν ἦττον ἐμοῦ πομπεύειν ἀντὶ τοῦ  
 κατηγορεῖν εἴλετο. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα ἔλαττον  
 ἔχων δίκαιός ἐστιν ἀπελθεῖν. ἤδη δ' ἐπὶ ταῦτα  
 πορεύσομαι, τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐρωτήσας. πότερόν  
 σέ τις, Αἰσχίνη, τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρὸν ἢ ἐμὸν εἶναι  
 φῆ; ἐμὸν δῆλον ὅτι. εἶτα οὐ μὲν ἦν παρ' ἐμοῦ  
 δίκην κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ὑπὲρ τούτων λαβεῖν, εἴ  
 περ ἠδίκουν, ἐξέλειπες, ἐν ταῖς εὐθύναις, ἐν ταῖς  
 γραφαῖς, ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις κρίσεσιν· οὐ δ' ἐγὼ μὲν <sup>125</sup>  
 ἀθῶος ἅπασι, τοῖς νόμοις, τῷ χρόνῳ, τῇ προθε-  
 σμῖα, τῷ κεκρίσθαι περὶ πάντων πολλάκις πρό-  
 τερον, τῷ μηδεπώποτε ἐξελεγχθῆναι μηδὲν ὑμᾶς



ἀδικῶν, τῇ πόλει δ' ἢ πλέον ἢ ἔλαττον ἀνάγκη τῶν γε δημοσίᾳ πεπραγμένων μετεῖναι τῆς δόξης, ἐνταῦθα ἀπήντηκας; ὄρα μὴ τούτων μὲν ἐχθρὸς ἦς, ἐμοὶ δὲ προσποιῆ.

- 126 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἢ μὲν εὐσεβῆς καὶ δικαία ψῆφος ἅπασι δέδεικται, δεῖ δέ με, ὡς ἔοικε, καίπερ οὐ φιλολοίδορον ὄντα, διὰ τὰς ὑπὸ τούτου βλασφημίας εἰρημένας ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ ψευδῶν αὐτὰ τἀναγκαϊότατ' εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ δεῖξαι τίς ὢν καὶ τίνων ραδίως οὕτως ἄρχει τοῦ κακῶς λέγειν, καὶ λόγους τίνας διασύρει, αὐτὸς εἰρηκῶς ἂ τίς οὐκ ἂν ὤκνησε τῶν μετρίων ἀνθρώπων φθέγ-  
 127 ξασθαι; — εἰ γὰρ Αἰακὸς ἢ Ῥαδάμανθυς ἢ Μίνως ἦν ὁ κατηγορῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ σπερμολόγος, περίτριμμα ἀγορᾶς, ὄλεθρος γραμματεῦς, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν οἶμαι ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν οὐδ' ἂν οὕτως ἐπαχθεῖς λόγους πορίσασθαι, ὥσπερ ἐν τραγωδίᾳ βοῶντα ὦ γῆ καὶ ἥλιε καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ

166. Οὐ μέμνησθε αὐτοῦ τὰ μιὰ καὶ ἀπίθανα ῥήματα, ἃ πῶς ποθ' ὑμεῖς, ὦ σιδηῆροι, ἐκαρτερεῖτε ἀκροώμενοι; "Ὅτ' ἔφη παρελθὼν "ἀμπελοφυγοῦσί τινες τὴν πόλιν, ἀνατετμήκασί τινες τὰ κλήματα τοῦ δήμου, ὑποτέμνηται τὰ νεῦρα τῶν πραγμάτων, φορμοραφούμεθα ἐπὶ τὰ στενά, τινὲς πῶτον ὥσπερ τὰς βελόνας διεύρουσι." 167. Ταῦτα δὲ τί ἐστίν, ὦ κίναδος; ῥήματα ἢ θαύματα; καὶ πάλιν ὅτε κύκλω περιδιῶν σεαυτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἔλεγες ὡς ἀντιπράττων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ.

260. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὦ γῆ καὶ ἥλιε καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ σύνεσις καὶ παιδείᾳ, ἢ διαγιγνώσκομεν τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχροῦ, βεβοήθηκα καὶ εἶρηκα.



πάλιν σύνεσιν καὶ παιδείαν ἐπικαλούμενον, ἥ τὰ  
 καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχροῦ διαγιγνώσκειται· ταῦτα γὰρ  
 δήπουθεν ἠκούετ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος. σοὶ δὲ ἀρετῆς,  
 ὦ κάθαρμα, ἥ τοῖς σοῖς τίς μετουσία; ἥ καλῶν <sup>128</sup>  
 ἥ μὴ τοιούτων τίς διάγνωσις; πόθεν ἥ πῶς  
 ἀξιωθέντι; ποῦ δὲ παιδείας σοι θέμις μνησθῆ-  
 ναι, ἥς τῶν μὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς τετυχηκότων οὐδ' ἂν  
 εἷς εἶποι περὶ αὐτοῦ τοιούτου οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ κἂν  
 ἑτέρου λέγοντος ἐρυθριάσειεν, τοῖς δ' ἀπολει-  
 φθείσι μὲν ὥσπερ σύ, προσποιουμένοις δ' ὑπ'  
 ἀναισθησίας τὸ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἀλγεῖν ποιεῖν,  
 ὅταν λέγωσιν, οὐ τὸ δοκεῖν τοιούτοις εἶναι περί-  
 εστιν.

Οὐκ ἀπορῶν δ' ὅτι χρῆ περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν <sup>129</sup>  
 εἰπεῖν, ἀπορῶ τοῦ πρώτου μνησθῶ, πότερ' ὡς ὁ  
 πατήρ σου Τρόμης ἐδούλευε παρ' Ἑλπίᾳ τῷ πρὸς  
 τῷ Θεσιῶ διδάσκοντι γράμματα, χοίνικας πα-  
 χείας ἔχων καὶ ξύλον, ἥ ὡς ἡ μήτηρ τοῖς μεθη-  
 μερινοῖς γάμοις ἐν τῷ κλεισίῳ τῷ πρὸς τῷ Καλα-  
 μίτῃ ἤρωι χρωμένη τὸν καλὸν ἀνδριάντα καὶ  
 τριταγωνιστὴν ἄκρον ἐξέθρεψέ σε; ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ  
 τριηραύλης Φορμίων, ὁ Δίωνος τοῦ Φρεαρρίου  
 δοῦλος, ἀνέστησεν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς καλῆς  
 ἐργασίας; ἀλλὰ νῆ τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς  
 ὀκνῶ μὴ περὶ σοῦ τὰ προσήκοντα λέγων αὐτὸς  
 οὐ προσήκοντας ἐμαυτῷ δόξω προηρησθαι λό-  
 γους. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἶπω, ἀπ' αὐτῶν δὲ ὧν <sup>130</sup>

- αὐτὸς βεβίωκεν ἄρξομαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὦν ἔτυχεν ἦν, ἀλλ' οἷς ὁ δῆμος καταρᾶται. ὀψὲ γάρ ποτε —, ὀψὲ λέγω; χθὲς μὲν οὖν καὶ πρῶην ἄμ' Ἀθηναῖος καὶ ῥήτωρ γέγονε, καὶ δύο συλλαβὰς προσθεὶς τὸν μὲν πατέρα ἀντὶ Τρόμητος ἐποίησεν Ἀτρόμητον, τὴν δὲ μητέρα σεμνῶς πάνυ Γλαυκοθέαν, ἣν Ἐμπούσαν ἅπαντες ἴσασι καλουμένην, ἐκ τοῦ πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν καὶ γίγνεσθαι δηλονότι ταύτης τῆς ἐπωνυμίας τυχούσαν· πόθεν
- 131 γὰρ ἄλλοθεν; ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕτως ἀχάριστος εἶ καὶ πονηρὸς φύσει, ὥστ' ἐλεύθερος ἐκ δούλου καὶ πλούσιος ἐκ πτωχοῦ διὰ τουτουσὶ γεγονῶς οὐχ ὅπως χάριν αὐτοῖς ἔχεις, ἀλλὰ μισθῶσας σαυτὸν κατὰ τουτωνὶ πολιτεύῃ. καὶ περὶ ὦν μὲν ἐστὶ τις ἀμισθότησις, ὡς ἄρα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως εἴρηκεν, εἴσω· ἂ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν φανερώς ἀπεδείχθη πράττων, ταῦτα ἀναμνήσω.
- 132 Τίς γὰρ ὑμῶν οὐκ οἶδε τὸν ἀποψηφισθέντα Ἀντιφῶντα, ὃς ἐπαγγειλάμενος Φιλίππῳ τὰ νεώρια ἐμπρήσειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἦλθεν; ὃν λαβόντος ἐμοῦ κεκρυμμένον ἐν Πειραιεῖ καὶ καταστήσαντος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν βοῶν ὁ βάσκανος οὗτος καὶ κεκραγῶς, ὡς ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ δεινὰ ποιῶ τοὺς ἠτυχηκότας τῶν πολιτῶν ὑβρίζων καὶ ἐπ' οἰκίας βαδίζων ἄνευ ψηφίσματος, ἀφεθῆναι
- 133 ἐποίησεν. καὶ εἰ μὴ ἡ βουλή ἢ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου τὸ πρᾶγμα αἰσθομένη καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν

ἄγνοιαν ἐν οὐ δέοντι συμβεβηκυῖαν ἰδοῦσα ἐπέ-  
 ζήτησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ συλλαβοῦσα ἐπανή-  
 γαγεν ὡς ὑμᾶς, ἐξήρπαστ' ἂν ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ τὸ  
 δίκην δοῦναι διαδύς ἐξεπέμπετ' ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ σέ-  
 μνολόγου τουτουί· νῦν δ' ὑμεῖς στρεβλώσαντες  
 αὐτὸν ἀπεκτείνετε, ὡς ἔδει γε καὶ τοῦτον. τοι- 134  
 γαρ οὖν εἰδυῖα ταῦτα ἢ βουλὴ ἢ ἐξ Ἄρείου πάγου  
 τότε τούτῳ πεπραγμένα, χειροτονησάντων αὐτὸν  
 ὑμῶν σύνδικον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ ἀπὸ  
 τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγνοίας ἦσπερ πολλὰ προΐεσθε τῶν  
 κοινῶν, ὡς προσείλεσθε κάκεινῃν καὶ τοῦ πράγ-  
 ματος κυρίαν ἐποιήσατε, τοῦτον μὲν εὐθύς ἀπή-  
 λασεν ὡς προδότην Ἐπερείδῃ δὲ λέγειν προσέ-  
 ταξεν· καὶ ταῦτα ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φέρουσα τὴν  
 ψῆφον ἔπραξε, καὶ οὐδεμία ψῆφος ἠνέχθη τῷ  
 μιαρῶ τούτῳ. Καὶ ὅτι ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει 135  
 τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας.

#### ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

[Μαρτυροῦσι Δημοσθένει ὑπὲρ πάντων οἶδε, Καλλίας Σου-  
 εῖς, Ζήνων Φλυεύς, Κλέων Φαληρεύς, Δημόνικος Μαραθώνιος,  
 ὅτι τοῦ δήμου ποτὲ χειροτονήσαντος Αἰσχίνην σύνδικον ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
 ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας συνεδρεύσαντες ἡμεῖς  
 ἐκρίναμεν Ἐπερείδην ἄξιον εἶναι μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως λέγειν,  
 καὶ ἀπεστάλη Ἐπερείδης.]

Οὐκοῦν ὅτε τούτου μέλλοντος λέγειν ἀπήλασεν  
 ἢ βουλὴ καὶ προσέταξεν ἑτέρῳ, τότε καὶ προδό-  
 την εἶναι καὶ κακόνουν ὑμῶν ἀπέφηνεν.

136 Ἐν μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτο τοιοῦτο πολίτευμα τοῦ νεανίου τούτου, ὁμοίον γε, οὐ γάρ; οἷς ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖ· ἕτερον δὲ ἀναμιμνήσκεσθε. ὅτε γὰρ Πύθωνα Φίλιππος ἔπεμψε τὸν Βυζάντιον καὶ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ συμμάχων πάντων συνέπεμψε πρέσβεις, ὡς ἐν αἰσχύνη ποιήσων τὴν πόλιν καὶ δείξων ἄδικουσαν, τότε ἐγὼ μὲν τῷ Πύθωνι θρασυνομένῳ καὶ πολλῶ ῥέοντι καθ' ὑμῶν οὐχ ὑπεχώρησα, ἀλλ' ἀναστὰς ἀντεῖπον καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως δίκαια οὐχὶ προὔδωκα, ἀλλ' ἀδικοῦντα Φίλιππον ἐξήλεγξα φανερώς οὕτως ὥστε τοὺς ἐκείνου συμμάχους αὐτοὺς ἀνισταμένους ὁμολογεῖν· οὗτος δὲ συνηγωνίζετο καὶ τὰναντία ἐμαρτύρει τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ταῦτα ψευδῆ.

137 Καὶ οὐκ ἀπέχρη ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ πάλιν μετὰ ταῦθ' ὕστερον Ἀναξίνῳ τῷ κατασκόπῳ συνιῶν εἰς τὴν Θράσωνος οἰκίαν ἐλήφθη. καίτοι ὅστις τῷ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων πεμφθέντι μόνος μόνῳ συνῆει καὶ ἐκοινολογεῖτο, οὗτος αὐτὸς ὑπῆρχε τῇ φύσει κατάσκοπος καὶ πολέμιος τῇ πατρίδι. Καὶ ὅτι ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει μοι τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας.

#### ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

[Τελέδημος Κλέωνος, Ὑπερείδης Καλλαίσχρον, Νικόμαχος Διοφάντου μαρτυροῦσι Δημοσθένει καὶ ἐπωμόσαντο ἐπὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν εἰδέναι Αἰσχίνην Ἀτρομήτου Κοθωκίδην συνερχόμενον νυκτὸς εἰς τὴν Θράσωνος οἰκίαν καὶ κοινολογούμενον

Ἀναξίνῳ, ὅς ἐκρίθη εἶναι κατάσκοπος παρὰ Φιλίππου. αὐταὶ ἀπεδόθησαν αἱ μαρτυρίαι ἐπὶ Νικίου, ἑκατομβαιῶνος τρίτη ἰσταμένου.]

Μυρία τοίνυν ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν ἔχων περὶ αὐτοῦ <sup>138</sup> παραλείπω. καὶ γὰρ οὕτω πως ἔχει. πολλὰ ἂν ἐγὼ ἔτι τούτων ἔχοιμι δεῖξαι, ὧν οὗτος κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους τοῖς μὲν ἐχθροῖς ὑπηρετῶν ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπηρέάζων εὐρέθη. ἀλλ' οὐ τίθεται ταῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν εἰς ἀκριβῆ μνήμην οὐδ' ἦν προσῆκεν ὀργήν, ἀλλὰ δεδώκατε ἔθει τινὶ φαύλῳ πολλὴν ἐξουσίαν τῷ βουλομένῳ τὸν λέγοντά τι τῶν ὑμῖν συμφερόντων ὑποσκελίζειν καὶ συκοφαντεῖν, τῆς ἐπὶ ταῖς λαιδορίαις ἡδονῆς καὶ χάριτος τὸ τῆς πόλεως συμφέρον ἀνταλλαττόμενοι· διόπερ ῥᾶόν ἐστι καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον αἰεὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑπηρετοῦντα μισθαρνεῖν ἢ τὴν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐλόμενον τάξιν πολιτεύεσθαι.

Καὶ τὸ μὲν δὴ πρὸ τοῦ πολεμεῖν φανερώς συν- <sup>139</sup> αγωνίζεσθαι Φιλίππῳ δεινὸν μὲν, ὧ γῆ καὶ θεοί, πῶς γὰρ οὐ; κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος· δότε δ', εἰ βούλεσθε, δότε αὐτῷ τοῦτο. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ φανερώς ἤδη τὰ πλοῖα ἐσεσύλητο, Χερρόνησος ἐπορθεῖτο, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐπορεύεθ' ἄνθρωπος, οὐκέτ' ἐν ἀμφισβητησίμῳ τὰ πράγματα ἦν ἀλλ' ἐνεστῆκει πόλεμος, ὃ τι μὲν πῶποτ' ἔπραξεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὁ βάσκανος οὕτοσι ἰαμβειογράφος, οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι δεῖξαι, οὐδ' ἔστιν οὔτε μείζον οὔτ' ἔλαττον ψήφισμα



οὐδὲν Αἰσχίνῃ ὑπὲρ τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ πόλει· εἰ δέ φησι, νῦν δειξάτω ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδέν. καίτοι δυοῖν αὐτὸν ἀνάγκη θάτερον ἢ μηδὲν τοῖς πραττομένοις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τότ' ἔχοντ' ἐγκαλεῖν μὴ γράφειν παρὰ ταῦθ' ἕτερα, ἢ τὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συμφέρον ζητοῦντα μὴ φέρειν εἰς μέσον τὰ τούτων ἀμείνω.

140 Ἄρ' οὖν οὐδ' ἔλεγεν, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἔγραφεν, ἡνίκα ἐργάσασθαί τι δέοι κακόν; οὐ μὲν οὖν ἦν εἰπεῖν ἑτέρω. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καὶ φέρειν ἡδύναθ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ἢ πόλις καὶ ποιῶν οὗτος λανθάνειν· ἐν δ' ἐπεξεργάσατο, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοιοῦτον, ὃ πᾶσι τοῖς προτέροις ἐπέθηκε τέλος·

113. Ταύτης τῆς ἀρᾶς καὶ τῶν ὄρκων καὶ τῆς μαντείας γενομένης, ἀναγεγραμμένων ἔτι καὶ νῦν, οἱ Λοκροὶ οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ οἱ προεστηκότες αὐτῶν, ἄνδρες παρανομώτατοι, ἐπειργάζοντο τὸ πεδίον, καὶ τὸν λιμένα τὸν ἐξάγιστον καὶ ἐπάρατον πάλιν ἐτείχισαν καὶ συνώκισαν, καὶ τέλη τοὺς καταπλέοντας ἐξέλεγον, καὶ τῶν ἀφικνουμένων εἰς Δελφοὺς πυλαγόρων ἐνίοις χρήμασι διέφθειραν, ὧν εἰς ἦν Δημοσθένης. 114. χειροτονηθεὶς γὰρ ὑφ' ὑμῶν πυλαγόρας λαμβάνει δισχιλίαις δραχμᾶς παρὰ τῶν Ἀμφισσεῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδεμίαν μνείαν περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι ποιήσασθαι. διωμολογήθη δ' αὐτῷ καὶ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἀποσταλήσεσθαι Ἀθήναζε τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκάστου μνᾶς εἴκοσι τῶν ἐξαγίστων καὶ ἐπαράτων χρημάτων, ἐφ' ᾗτε βοηθήσειν τοῖς Ἀμφισσεῦσιν Ἀθήνησι κατὰ πάντα τρόπον· 116. Ἐξηγγέλλετο δ' ἡμῖν παρὰ τῶν βουλομένων εὐνοίαν ἐνδείκνυσθαι τῇ πόλει, ὅτι οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς ὑποπεπτωκότες τότε καὶ δεινῶς θεραπεύοντες τοὺς Θηβαίους εἰσέφερον δόγμα κατὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως, πεντήκοντα ταλάντοις ζημιῶσαι τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι χρυσᾶς ἀσπίδας ἀνέθεμεν πρὸς τὸν καινὸν νεῶν πρὶν ἐξεργάσθαι, καὶ

περὶ οὗ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀνάλωσε λόγους, τὰ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων τῶν Λοκρῶν διεξιῶν δόγματα, ὡς διαστρέψων τάληθές. τὸ δ' οὐ τοιοῦτόν ἐστι· πόθεν; οὐδέποτ' ἐκνίψη σὺ τὰκεῖ πεπραγμένα σαυτῷ· οὐχ οὕτω πολλὰ ἐρεῖς.

Καλῶ δ' ἐναντίον ὑμῶν, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, <sup>141</sup> τοὺς θεοὺς ἅπαντας καὶ πάσας, ὅσοι τὴν χώραν ἔχουσι τὴν Ἀττικὴν, καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθιον, ὃς πατρῷός ἐστι τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐπεύχομαι πᾶσι τούτοις, εἰ μὲν ἀληθῆ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἴποιμι καὶ εἶπον καὶ τότ' εὐθύς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, ὅτε πρῶτον εἶδον τουτουὶ τὸν μίαρὸν τούτου τοῦ πράγματος ἀπτόμενον (ἔγνω γάρ, εὐθέως ἔγνω), εὐτυχίαν

ἐπεγράψαμεν τὸ προσῆκον ἐπίγραμμα “Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ Μήδων καὶ Θηβαίων ὅτε τὰναντία τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐμάχοντο.” Μεταπεμψάμενος δ' ἐμὲ ὁ ἱερομνήμων ἡξίου εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον καὶ εἰπεῖν τι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ αὐτὸν οὕτω προσηρημένον. 117. Ἀρχομένου δέ μου λέγειν καὶ προθυμότερόν πως εἰσεληλυθότος εἰς τὸ συνέδριον, τῶν ἄλλων πυλαγῶρων μεθεστηκότων, ἀναβοήσας τις τῶν Ἀμφισσέων, ἄνθρωπος ἀσελγέστατος καί, ὡς ἐμοὶ ἐφαίνετο, οὐδεμιᾶς παιδείας μετεσχηκός, ἴσως δὲ καὶ δαιμονίου τινὸς ἐξαμαρτάνειν αὐτὸν προαγομένου, “ἀρχὴν δέ γε,” ἔφη, “ὧ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, εἰ ἐσωφρονεῖτε, οὐδ' ἂν ὀνομάζετε τοῦνομα τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν ταῖσδε ταῖς ἡμέραις, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐναγεῖς ἐξείργετ' ἂν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ.” 118. Ἄμα δὲ ἐμέμνητο τῆς τῶν Φωκῶν συμμαχίας, ἣν ὁ Κρῶβυλος ἐκεῖνος ἔγραψε, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ δυσχερῆ κατὰ τῆς πόλεως διεξῆει λέγων, ἃ ἐγὼ οὔτε τότ' ἐκαρτέρου ἀκούων οὔτε νῦν ἠδέως μέμνημαι αὐτῶν. ἀκούσας δὲ οὕτω παρωξύνθη ὡς οὐδεπώποτ' ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ βίῳ. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους λόγους ὑπερβήσομαι· ἐπῆλθε δ' οὖν μοι ἐπὶ τὴν γνώμην μνησθῆναι τῆς τῶν Ἀμφισσέων περὶ

μοι δοῦναι καὶ σωτηρίαν, εἰ δὲ πρὸς ἔχθραν ἡ φιλονεικίας ἰδίας ἔνεκ' αἰτίαν ἐπάγω τούτῳ ψευδῆ, πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνόνητόν με ποιῆσαι.

- 142 Τί οὖν ταῦτ' ἐπήραμαι καὶ διετεινάμην οὕτως σφοδρῶς; ὅτι γράμματ' ἔχων ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ κείμενα, ἐξ ὧν ταῦτ' ἐπιδείξω σαφῶς, καὶ ὑμᾶς εἰδὼς τὰ πεπραγμένα μνημονεύσοντας, ἐκείνο φοβούμαι, μὴ τῶν εἰργασμένων αὐτῷ κακῶν ὑποληφθῆ οὗτος ἐλάττων· ὅπερ πρότερον συνέβη, ὅτε τοὺς τάλαιπῶρους Φωκέας ἐποίησεν ἀπολέσθαι

τὴν γῆν τὴν ἱερὰν ἀσεβείας, καὶ αὐτόθεν ἐστηκὼς ἐδείκνυον τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσιν (ὑπόκειται γὰρ τὸ Κιρραῖον πεδῖον τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ ἔστιν εὐσύνοπτον). 124. Τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ Κόττυφος ὁ τὰς γνώμας ἐπιψηφίζων ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίει τῶν Ἀμφικτύων· ἐκκλησίαν γὰρ ὀνομάζουσιν, ὅταν μὴ μόνον τοὺς πυλαγόρους καὶ τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας συγκαλέσωσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς συνθύοντας καὶ χρωμένους τῷ θεῷ. ἐνταῦθ' ἤδη πολλὰ μὲν ἐγίνοντο τῶν Ἀμφισσέων κατηγορίαί, πολὺς δ' ἔπαινος ἦν κατὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως· τέλος δὲ παντὸς τοῦ λόγου ψηφίζονται ἦκειν τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας πρὸ τῆς ἐπιούσης πυλαίας ἐν ῥητῷ χρόνῳ εἰς Πύλας, ἔχοντας δόγμα, καθ' ὃ τι δίκην δώσουσιν οἱ Ἀμφισσείεις ὑπὲρ ὧν εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν ἱερὰν καὶ τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας ἐξήμαρτον. ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀναγνώσεται ὑμῖν ὁ γραμματεὺς τὸ ψήφισμα.

#### ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

125. Τοῦ δόγματος τούτου ἀποδοθέντος ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἡμῶν ἀποδεξαμένου τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς πόλεως πάσης προαιρουμένης εὐσεβεῖν, καὶ Δημοσθένους ὑπὲρ τοῦ μεσεγγυήματος τοῦ ἐξ Ἀμφίσσης ἀντιλέγοντος καὶ ἐμοῦ φανερῶς ἐναντίον ὑμῶν ἐξελέγχοντος, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τὴν πόλιν ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἐδύνατο σφῆλαι, εἰσελ-

τὰ ψευδῆ δεῦρ' ἀπαγγείλας. τὸν γὰρ ἐν Ἀμ- 143  
 φίσση πόλεμον, δι' ὃν εἰς Ἑλάτειαν ἦλθε Φίλιπ-  
 πος καὶ δι' ὃν ἠρέθη τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἡγεμών,  
 ὃς ἅπαντ' ἀνέτρεψε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὗτός ἐστιν  
 ὁ συγκατασκευάσας καὶ πάντων εἰς ἀνὴρ τῶν  
 μεγίστων αἴτιος κακῶν. καὶ τότε εὐθύς ἐμοῦ δια-  
 μαρτυρομένου καὶ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ “ πό-  
 λεμον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εἰσάγεις, Αἰσχίνη, πόλε-  
 μον Ἀμφικτυονικόν ” οἱ μὲν ἐκ παρακλήσεως  
 συγκαθήμενοι οὐκ εἶπον με λέγειν, οἱ δ' ἑθαύ-

θῶν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ μεταστησάμενος τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἐκφέ-  
 ρεται προβούλευμα εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, προσλαβὼν τὴν τοῦ γρά-  
 ψαντος ἀπειρίαν· 126. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ  
 διεπράξατο ἐπιψηφισθῆναι καὶ γενέσθαι δήμου ψήφισμα ἡδὴ  
 ἐπαναστάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀπεληλυθότος ἐμοῦ, οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε  
 ἐπέτρεψα, καὶ τῶν πολλῶν δὲ ἀφειμένων· οὐ τὸ κεφάλαιόν ἐστι  
 “ τὸν ἱερομνήμονα, ” φησί, “ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοὺς πυλαγόρους  
 τοὺς αἰεὶ πυλαγοροῦντας πορεύεσθαι εἰς Πύλας καὶ εἰς Δελφοὺς  
 ἐν τοῖς τεταγμένοις χρόνοις ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων, ” εὐπρεπῶς γε τῷ  
 ὀνόματι, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἔργῳ αἰσχρῶς· κωλύει γὰρ εἰς τὸν σύλλογον  
 τὸν ἐν Πύλαις ἅπαντᾶν, ὃς ἐξ ἀνάγκης πρὸ τοῦ καθήκοντος ἔμελλε  
 χρόνου γίνεσθαι. 127. καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ψηφίσματι πολὺ  
 καὶ σαφέστερον καὶ πικρότερον σύγγραμμα γράφει “ τὸν ἱερο-  
 μνήμονα, ” φησί, “ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοὺς πυλαγόρους τοὺς αἰεὶ  
 πυλαγοροῦντας μὴ μετέχειν τοῖς ἐκεῖ συλληγομένοις μήτε λόγων  
 μήτε ἔργων μήτε δογμάτων μήτε πράξεως μηδεμιᾶς. ” τὸ δὲ μὴ  
 μετέχειν τί ἐστι; πότερα τᾶληθές εἶπω ἢ τὸ ἡδιστον ἀκοῦσαι;  
 τὸ ἀληθές ἐρῶ· τὸ γὰρ αἰεὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν λεγόμενον οὕτως τὴν  
 πόλιν διατέθεικεν. οὐκ ἔα μεμνήσθαι τῶν ὄρκων, οὓς ἡμῶν οἱ  
 πρόγονοι ὤμοσαν, οὐδὲ τῆς ἀρᾶς οὐδὲ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ μαντείας.  
 128. Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν, ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι, κατεμείναμεν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ



- μαζον καὶ κεινὴν αἰτίαν διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἔχθραν  
 144 ἐπάγειν με ὑπελάμβανον αὐτῷ. ἦτις δ' ἡ φύσις,  
 ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, γέγονε τούτων τῶν πραγμά-  
 των, καὶ τίνος εἵνεκα ταῦτα συνεσκευάσθη καὶ  
 πῶς ἐπράχθη, νῦν ὑπακούσατε, ἐπειδὴ τότε ἐκω-  
 λύθητε· καὶ γὰρ εὖ πρᾶγμα συντεθὲν ὄψεσθε, καὶ  
 μεγάλα ὠφελήσεσθε πρὸς ἱστορίαν τῶν κοινῶν,  
 καὶ ὄση δεινότης ἦν ἐν τῷ Φιλίππῳ, θεάσεσθε.
- 145 Οὐκ ἦν τοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολέμου πέρας οὐδ'  
 ἀπαλλαγὴ Φιλίππῳ, εἰ μὴ Θηβαίους καὶ Θεττα-  
 λούς ἐχθροὺς ποιήσειε τῇ πόλει· ἀλλὰ καίπερ  
 ἀθλίως καὶ κακῶς τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν ὑμετέρων  
 πολεμούντων αὐτῷ ὅμως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολέμου  
 καὶ τῶν ληστῶν μυρία ἔπασχε κακά. οὔτε γὰρ  
 ἐξήγετο τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας γιγνομένων οὐδέν, οὔτ'  
 146 εἰσήγετο ὧν ἐδεῖτ' αὐτῷ· ἦν δὲ οὔτ' ἐν τῇ θαλάτ-  
 τη τότε κρείττων ὑμῶν, οὔτ' εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐλ-  
 θεῖν δυνατὸς μήτε Θετταλῶν ἀκολουθούντων μήτε

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ψηφισμα, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι Ἀμφικτύονες συνελέγησαν εἰς Πύλας  
 πλὴν μιᾶς πόλεως, ἧς ἐγὼ οὔτ' ἂν τοῦνομα εἶποιμι, μήθ' αἱ συμ-  
 φοραὶ παραπλήσιοι γένοιτο αὐτῆς μηδενὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. καὶ  
 συνελθόντες ἐψηφίσαντο ἐπιστρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας, καὶ  
 στρατηγὸν εἵλοντο Κόττυφον τὸν Φαρσάλιον τὸν τότε τὰς γνώ-  
 μαις ἐπιψηφίζοντα, οὐκ ἐπιδημοῦντος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ Φιλίππου,  
 ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι παρόντος, ἀλλ' ἐν Σκύθαις οὕτω μακρὰν  
 ἀπόντος· ὃν αὐτίκα μάλα τολμήσει λέγειν Δημοσθένους ὡς ἐγὼ  
 ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπήγαγον. 129. Καὶ παρελθόντες τῇ πρώτῃ  
 στρατείᾳ καὶ μάλα μετρίως ἐχρήσαντο τοῖς Ἀμφισσεῦσιν· ἀντὶ



Θηβαίων διέντων· συνέβαινε δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ πολέμῳ κρατοῦντι τοὺς ὅποιουσδήποθ' ὑμεῖς ἐξέπεμπετε στρατηγούς (ἐὼ γὰρ τοῦτό γε) αὐτῇ τῇ φύσει τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐκατέροις κακοπαθεῖν. εἰ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ' ἔχθρας ἢ 147 τοὺς Θετταλοὺς ἢ τοὺς Θηβαίους συμπεῖθοι βαδίζειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, οὐδέν' ἂν ἠγείτο προσέξειν αὐτῷ τὸν νοῦν· ἐὰν δὲ τὰς ἐκείνων κοινὰς προφάσεις λαβὼν ἠγεμὼν αἰρεθῇ, ῥᾶον ἤλπιζε τὰ μὲν παρακρούσεται τὰ δὲ πείσειν. τί οὖν; ἐπιχειρεῖ, θεάσασθ' ὡς εὔ, πόλεμον ποιῆσαι τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι καὶ περὶ τὴν Πυλαίαν ταραχήν· εἰς γὰρ ταῦθ' εὐθὺς αὐτοὺς ὑπελάμβανεν αὐτοῦ δεήσεται. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτο ἢ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ 148 πεμπομένων ἱερομνημόνων ἢ τῶν ἐκείνου συμμάχων εἰσηγοῖτό τις, ὑπόψεσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐνόμιζε καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς καὶ πάντας φυλάξεσθαι, ἂν δ' Ἀθηναῖος ἦ καὶ παρ'

γὰρ τῶν μεγίστων ἀδικημάτων χρήμασιν αὐτοὺς ἐζημίωσαν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν ῥήτῳ χρόνῳ προεῖπον τῷ θεῷ καταθεῖναι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐναγείς καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων αἰτίους μετεστήσαντο, τοὺς δὲ δι' εὐσέβειαν φυγόντας κατήγαγον. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὔτε τὰ χρήματα ἐξέτινον τῷ θεῷ τοὺς τ' ἐναγείς κατήγαγον καὶ τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς κατελθόντας διὰ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐξέβαλον, οὕτως ἤδη τὴν δευτέραν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας στρατείαν ἐποιήσαντο, πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον, ἐπανελλυθότος Φιλίππου ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκύθας στρατείας, τῶν μὲν θεῶν τὴν ἠγεμονίαν τῆς εὐσεβείας ἡμῖν παραδεδοκότων, τῆς δὲ Δημοσθένους δωροδοκίας ἐμποδῶν γεγεννημένης.

ὑμῶν τῶν ὑπεναντίων ὁ τοῦτο ποιῶν, εὐπόρως λή-  
 σειν· ὅπερ συνέβη. πῶς οὖν ταῦτ' ἐποίησεν ;  
 149 μισθοῦται τουτονί. οὐδενὸς δὲ προειδότης, οἶμαι,  
 τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐδὲ φυλάττοντος, ὥσπερ εἶωθε τὰ  
 τοιαῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν γίνεσθαι, προβληθεὶς πυλά-  
 γορος οὗτος καὶ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων χειροτονη-  
 σάντων αὐτὸν ἀνερρήθη. ὥς δὲ τὸ τῆς πόλεως  
 ἀξίωμα λαβὼν ἀφίκετο εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας,  
 πάντα τᾶλλ' ἀφείς καὶ παριδῶν ἐπέβαινε ἐφ' οἷς  
 ἐμισθώθη, καὶ λόγους εὐπροσώπους καὶ μύθους,  
 ὅθεν ἡ Κιρραία χώρα καθιερώθη, συνθεὶς καὶ  
 διεξελθὼν ἀνθρώπους ἀπίρους λόγων καὶ τὸ μέλ-  
 150 λον οὐ προορωμένους, τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας, πείθει  
 ψηφίσασθαι περιελθεῖν τὴν χώραν ἣν οἱ μὲν Ἀμ-  
 φισσεῖς σφῶν αὐτῶν οὔσαν γεωργεῖν ἔφασαν,  
 οὗτος δὲ τῆς ἱερᾶς χώρας ἠτιᾶτο εἶναι, οὐδεμίαν  
 δίκην τῶν Λοκρῶν ἐπαγόντων ἡμῖν, οὐδ' ἂ νῦν  
 οὗτος προφασίζεται, λέγων οὐκ ἀληθῆ. γνώ-  
 σεσθε δ' ἐκεῖθεν. οὐκ ἐνῆν ἄνευ τοῦ προσκαλέ-  
 σασθαι δήπου τοῖς Λοκροῖς δίκην κατὰ τῆς πό-  
 λεως τελέσασθαι. τίς οὖν ἐκλήτευσε ἡμᾶς ;  
 ἀπὸ ποίας ἀρχῆς ; εἰπέ τὸν εἰδότη, δεῖξον. ἀλλ'  
 οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις, ἀλλὰ κενῆ προφάσει ταύτη κατε-  
 151 χρῶ καὶ ψευδεῖ. περιούτων τοίνυν τὴν χώραν  
 τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων κατὰ τὴν ὑφήγησιν τὴν τού-  
 του, προσπεσόντες οἱ Λοκροὶ μικροῦ κατηκόν-  
 τισαν ἅπαντας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ συνήρπασαν τῶν

ἱερομνημόνων. ὡς δ' ἅπαξ ἐκ τούτων ἐγκλή-  
 ματα καὶ πόλεμος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμφισσειῶς ἐτα-  
 ράχθη, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὁ Κόττυφος αὐτῶν τῶν  
 Ἀμφικτυόνων ἤγαγε στρατιάν, ὡς δ' οἱ μὲν οὐκ  
 ἦλθον, οἱ δ' ἐλθόντες οὐδὲν ἐποιοῦν, εἰς τὴν ἐπι-  
 οῦσαν Πυλαίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον εὐθύς ἡγεμόνα  
 ἦγον οἱ κατεσκευασμένοι καὶ πάλαι πονηροὶ τῶν  
 Θετταλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν. καὶ <sup>152</sup>  
 προφάσεις εὐλόγους εἰλήφεσαν· ἡ γὰρ αὐτοὺς  
 εἰσφέρειν καὶ ξένους τρέφειν ἔφασαν δεῖν καὶ  
 ζημιοῦν τοὺς μὴ ταῦτα ποιοῦντας, ἡ ἐκείνον αἰ-  
 ρεῖσθαι. τί δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν; ἡρέθη γὰρ  
 ἐκ τούτων ἡγεμών. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθέως δύ-  
 ναμιν συλλέξας καὶ παρελθὼν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Κιρ-  
 ραίαν, ἐρρῶσθαι φράσας πολλὰ Κιρραίοις καὶ  
 Λοκροῖς, τὴν Ἐλάτειαν καταλαμβάνει. εἰ μὲν <sup>153</sup>  
 οὖν μὴ μετέγνωσαν εὐθέως, ὡς τοῦτ' εἶδον, οἱ  
 Θηβαῖοι καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐγένοντο, ὥσπερ χειμάρ-  
 ρους ἂν ἅπαν τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰς τὴν πόλιν  
 εἰσέπεσεν· νῦν δὲ τό γ' ἐξαίφνης ἐπέσχον αὐ-  
 τὸν ἐκείνοι, μάλιστα μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,  
 θεῶν τινὸς εὐνοία πρὸς ὑμᾶς, εἶτα μέντοι, καὶ  
 ὅσον καθ' ἓνα ἄνδρα, καὶ δι' ἐμέ. Δὸς δέ μοι  
 τὰ δόγματα ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς ἕκα-  
 στα πέπρακται, ἵν' εἰδῆτε ἡλίκα πράγματα ἢ  
 μιὰ κεφαλὴν ταραξάσα αὐτὴ δίκην οὐκ ἔδωκεν.  
 λέγε μοι τὰ δόγματα.

## ΔΟΓΜΑΤΑ ΑΜΦΙΚΤΥΟΝΩΝ.

- 154 [Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλειναγόρου, ἑαρινῆς Πυλαίας, ἔδοξε τοῖς πυλαγόροις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ Ἀμφισσεῖς ἐπιβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἱεράν χώραν καὶ σπεύρουσι καὶ βοσκήμασι κατανέμουσιν, ἐπελθεῖν τοὺς πυλαγόρους καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους, καὶ στήλαις διαλαβεῖν τοὺς ὄρους, καὶ ἀπειπεῖν τοῖς Ἀμφισσεῦσι τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν.]

## ἘΤΕΡΟΝ ΔΟΓΜΑ.

- 155 [Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλειναγόρου, ἑαρινῆς Πυλαίας, ἔδοξε τοῖς πυλαγόροις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐξ Ἀμφίσσης τὴν ἱεράν χώραν κατανειμάμενοι γεωργοῦσι καὶ βοσκήματα νέμουσι, καὶ κωλυόμενοι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις παραγενόμενοι, τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνέδριον κεκωλύκασιν μετὰ βίας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τετραυματίκασιν, τὸν στρατηγὸν τὸν ἡρημένον τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων Κόττυφον τὸν Ἀρκάδα πρεσβεῦσαι πρὸς Φίλιππον τὸν Μακεδόνα, καὶ ἀξιοῦν ἵνα βοηθήσῃ τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτυόσιν, ὅπως μὴ περιίδῃ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀσεβῶν Ἀμφισσέων τὸν θεὸν πλημμελούμενον· καὶ διότι αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα αἰροῦνται οἱ Ἕλληνες οἱ μετέχοντες τοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων.]

Λέγε δὴ καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς ταῦτ' ἐγένετο· εἰσὶ γὰρ καθ' οὓς ἐπυλαγόρησεν οὗτος. λέγε.

## ΧΡΟΝΟΙ.

[Ἄρχων Μνησιθείδης, μηνὸς ἀνθεστηριῶνος ἕκτη ἐπὶ δεκάτῃ.]

Δὸς δὴ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἦν, ὡς οὐχ ὑπήκουον 156  
οἱ Θηβαῖοι, πέμπει πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ  
συμμάχους ὁ Φίλιππος, ἵν' εἰδῆτε καὶ ἐκ ταύτης  
σαφῶς ὅτι τὴν μὲν ἀληθῆ πρόφασιν τῶν πραγμά-  
των, τὸ ταῦτ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους  
καὶ ὑμᾶς πράττειν, ἀπεκρύπτετο, κοινὰ δὲ καὶ  
τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι δόξαντα ποιεῖν προσεποιεῖτο·  
ὁ δὲ τὰς ἀφορμὰς ταύτας καὶ τὰς προφάσεις  
αὐτῷ παρασχὼν οὗτος ἦν. λέγε.

## ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

[Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Πελοποννησίων τῶν ἐν τῇ 157  
συνμαχίᾳ τοῖς δημιουργοῖς καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις  
συμμάχοις πᾶσι χαίρειν. ἐπειδὴ Λοκροὶ οἱ καλούμενοι Ὀζό-  
λαι, κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ, πλημμυλοῦσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ  
Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν ἐρχόμενοι μεθ'  
ὄπλων λεηλατοῦσι, βούλομαι τῷ θεῷ μεθ' ὑμῶν βοηθεῖν καὶ  
ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς παραβαίνοντάς τι τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐσεβῶν·  
ὥστε συναντᾶτε μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα, ἔχοντες ἐπιστι-  
τισμὸν ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα, τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος μηνὸς λῦου, ὡς  
ἡμεῖς ἄγομεν, ὡς δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, βοηδρομιῶνος, ὡς δὲ Κορίνθιοι,  
πανέμου. τοῖς δὲ μὴ συναντήσασι πανδημεὶ χρησόμεθα, τοῖς  
δὲ συμβούλοις ἡμῖν κειμένοις ἐπιζημίους. εὐτυχεῖτε.]

Ἵραθ' ὅτι φεύγει τὰς ἰδίας προφάσεις, εἰς δὲ 158  
τὰς Ἀμφικτυονικὰς καταφεύγει. τίς οὖν ὁ ταῦτα  
συνπαρασκευάσας αὐτῷ; τίς ὁ τὰς προφάσεις  
ταύτας ἐνδούς; τίς ὁ τῶν κακῶν τῶν γεγενημέ-  
νων μάλιστα αἴτιος; οὐχ οὗτος; μὴ τοίνυν



λέγετε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περιούντες ὡς ὑφ' ἐνὸς τοιαῦτα πέπονθεν ἢ Ἑλλάς ἀνθρώπου. οὐχ ὑφ' ἐνός, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ πονηρῶν παρ' 159 ἐκάστοις, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί· ὧν εἷς οὔτοσί, ὅν, εἰ μὴδὲν εὐλαβηθέντα τάληθές εἰπεῖν δέοι, οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμι ἔγωγε κοινὸν ἀλιτήριον τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπολωλότων ἀπάντων εἰπεῖν, ἀνθρώπων, τόπων, πόλεων· ὁ γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα παρασχών, οὗτος τῶν φύντων κακῶν αἴτιος. ὅν ὅπως ποτὲ οὐκ εὐθύς ἰδόντες ἀπεστράφητε, θαυμάζω· πλὴν πολὺ τι σκότος, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐστὶ παρ' ὑμῖν πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας.

160 Συμβέβηκε τοίνυν μοι τῶν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος τούτῳ πεπραγμένων ἀψαμένῳ εἰς ἅ τούτοις ἐναντιούμενος αὐτὸς πεπολίτευμαι ἀφίχθαι· ἅ πολλῶν μὲν ἔνεκ' ἂν εἰκότως ἀκούσαιτέ μου, μάλιστα δ' ὅτι αἰσχροὺν ἐστίν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ἐγὼ μὲν τὰ ἔργα τῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πόνων ὑπέμεινα, ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴδὲ τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν ἀνέξεσθε.

161 ὁρῶν γὰρ ἐγὼ Θηβαίους, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ Φιλίππου φρονούντων καὶ διεφθαρμένων παρ' ἐκατέροις ὃ μὲν ἦν ἀμφοτέροις φοβερόν καὶ φυλακῆς πολλῆς δεόμενον, τὸ τὸν Φίλιππον εἶαν αὐξάνεσθαι, παρορῶντας καὶ οὐδὲ καθ' ἐν φυλαττομένους, εἰς ἔχθραν δὲ καὶ τὸ προσκρούειν ἀλλήλοις ἐτοίμως ἔχοντας, ὅπως τοῦτο μὴ γένοιτο παρατηρῶν διετέλουν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς

ἔμαντοῦ γνώμης μόνον ταῦτα συμφέρειν ὑπολαμ-  
 βάνων, ἀλλ' εἰδὼς Ἀριστοφῶντα καὶ πάλιν Εὐ- 162  
 βουλον πάντα τὸν χρόνον βουλομένους πράξαι  
 ταύτην τὴν φιλίαν, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλάκις  
 ἀντιλέγοντας τοῦθ' ὁμογνωμονοῦντας αἰεί. οὓς  
 σὺ ζῶντας μὲν, ὧ κίναδος, κολακεύων παρηκο-  
 λούθεις, τεθνεώτων δ' οὐκ αἰσθάνει κατηγορῶν·  
 ἃ γὰρ περὶ Θηβαίων ἐπιτιμᾶς ἐμοί, ἐκείνων πολὺ  
 μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖς, τῶν πρότερον ἢ ἐγὼ  
 ταύτην τὴν συμμαχίαν δοκιμασάντων. ἀλλ' 163  
 ἐκείσε ἐπάνειμι, ὅτι τὸν ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον  
 τούτου μὲν ποιήσαντος, συμπεραναμένων δὲ τῶν  
 ἄλλων τῶν συνεργῶν αὐτῷ τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους  
 ἔχθραν, συνέβη τὸν Φίλιππον ἐλθεῖν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς,  
 οὐπερ ἔνεκα τὰς πόλεις οὗτοι συνέκρουον, καὶ  
 εἰ μὴ προεξανέστημεν μικρόν, οὐδ' ἀναλαβεῖν ἂν  
 ἠδυνήθημεν· οὕτω μέχρι πόρρω προήγαγον οὗτοι  
 τὴν ἔχθραν. ἐν οἷς δ' ἦτε ἤδη τὰ πρὸς ἀλλή-  
 λους, τουτωνὶ τῶν ψηφισμάτων ἀκούσαντες καὶ  
 τῶν ἀποκρίσεων εἴσεσθε. Καί μοι λέγε ταῦτα  
 λαβών.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἡροπύθου, μηνὸς ἐλαφθβολῶνος ἕκτη φθί- 164  
 νοντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Ἐρεχθίδος, βουλῆς καὶ στρατη-  
 γῶν γνώμη, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ἅς μὲν κατείληφε πόλεις τῶν  
 ἀστυγειτόνων, τινὰς δὲ πορθεῖ, κεφαλαίῳ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν  
 παρασκευάζεται παραγίγνεσθαι, παρ' οὐδὲν ἡγούμενος τὰς ἡμε-  
 τέρας συνθήκας, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους λύειν ἐπιβάλλεται καὶ τὴν

εἰρήνην, παραβαίνων τὰς κοινὰς πίστεις, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πέμπειν πρὸς αὐτὸν πρέσβεις, οἵτινες αὐτῷ διαλέξονται καὶ παρακαλέσουσιν αὐτὸν μάλιστα μὲν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁμόνοιαν διατηρεῖν καὶ τὰς συνθήκας, εἰ δὲ μή, πρὸς τὸ βουλευσασθαι δοῦναι χρόνον τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς ποιήσασθαι μέχρι τοῦ θαρρηλιῶνος μηνός. ἤρέθησαν ἐκ βουλῆς Σῆμος Ἀναγυράσιος, Εὐθύδημος Φλυάσιος, Βουλαγόρας Ἀλωπεκῆθεν.]

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

165 [Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἡροπίθου, μηνὸς μουνυχιῶνος ἔτη καὶ νέα, πολεμάρχου γνώμη, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος εἰς ἀλλοτριότητα Θηβαίους πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπιβάλλεται καταστήσαι, παρεσκεύασται δὲ καὶ παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι πρὸς τοὺς ἔγγιστα τῆς Ἀττικῆς παραγίνεσθαι τόπους, παραβαίνων τὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑπαρχούσας αὐτῷ συνθήκας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πέμψαι πρὸς αὐτὸν κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις, οἵτινες ἀξιόσωσι καὶ παρακαλέσουσιν αὐτὸν ποιήσασθαι τὰς ἀνοχὰς, ὅπως ἐνδεχομένως ὁ δῆμος βουλευέσθαι· καὶ γὰρ νῦν οὐ κέκρικε βοθεῖν ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν μετρίων. ἤρέθησαν ἐκ βουλῆς Νέαρχος Σωσινόμου, Πολυκράτης Ἐπίφρονος, καὶ κῆρυξ Εὐνομος Ἀναφλύστιος ἐκ τοῦ δήμου.]

166 Λέγε δὴ καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις.

## ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙΣ.

[Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἦν μὲν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἶχετε πρὸς ἡμᾶς αἴρεσιν, οὐκ ἀγνωῶ, καὶ τίνα σπουδὴν ποιεῖσθε προσκαλέσασθαι Βουλόμενοι Θετταλοὺς καὶ Θηβαίους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Βοιωτοὺς· βέλτιον δ' αὐτῶν φρονούντων καὶ μὴ βουλομένων ἐφ' ὑμῖν ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἑαυτῶν αἴρεσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ συμφέρον ἰσταμένων, νῦν ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς ἀποστείλαντες ὑμεῖς πρὸς με πρέσβεις καὶ κήρυκα συνθηκῶν

μνημονεύετε καὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς αἰτεῖσθε, κατ' οὐδὲν ὑφ' ἡμῶν πε-  
πλημμελημένοι. ἐγὼ μέντοι ἀκούσας τῶν πρεσβευτῶν συγκατα-  
τίθεμαι τοῖς παρακαλουμένοις καὶ ἔτοιμός εἰμι ποιεῖσθαι τὰς  
ἀνοχὰς, ἂν περ τοὺς οὐκ ὀρθῶς συμβουλευόντας ὑμῖν παραπέμ-  
ψαντες τῆς προσηκούσης ἀτιμίας ἀξιώσητε. ἔρρωσθε.

### ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΟΙΣ.

[Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Θηβαίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ 167  
δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἐκομισάμην τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπιστολήν, δι' ἧς μοι  
τὴν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀνανεοῦσθε. πυνθάνομαι μέντοι  
διότι πᾶσαν ὑμῖν Ἀθηναῖοι προσφέρονται φιλοτιμίαν βουλό-  
μενοι ὑμᾶς συγκαταίνους γενέσθαι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν παρακαλουμέ-  
νοις. πρότερον μὲν οὖν ὑμῶν κατεγίγνωσκον ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλειν  
πείθεσθαι ταῖς ἐκείνων ἐλπίσι καὶ ἐπακολουθεῖν αὐτῶν τῇ προ-  
αιρέσει. νῦν δ' ἐπιγνοὺς ὑμᾶς τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐζητηκότας ἔχειν  
εἰρήνην μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς ἐτέρων ἐπακολουθεῖν γνώμαις, ἦσθην καὶ  
μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς ἐπαινῶ κατὰ πολλά, μάλιστα δ' ἐπὶ τῷ βουλευ-  
σασθαι περὶ τούτων ἀσφαλέστερον καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχειν ἐν  
εὐνοίᾳ· ὅπερ οὐ μικρὰν ὑμῖν οἴσειν ἐλπίζω ῥοπήν, εἴαν περ ἐπὶ  
αὐτῆς μένητε τῆς προθέσεως. ἔρρωσθε.]

Οὕτω διαθεὶς ὁ Φίλιππος τὰς πόλεις πρὸς ἀλ- 168  
λήλας διὰ τούτων, καὶ τούτοις ἐπαρθεὶς τοῖς ψη-  
φίσμασι καὶ ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν, ἦκεν ἔχων τὴν  
δύναμιν καὶ τὴν Ἐλάτειαν κατέλαβεν, ὡς οὐδ'  
ἂν εἴ τι γένοιτο ἔτι συμπνευσάντων ἂν ἡμῶν καὶ  
τῶν Θηβαίων. ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸν τότε συμβάντα ἐν  
τῇ πόλει θόρυβον ἴστε μὲν ἅπαντες, μικρὰ δ'  
ἀκούσατε ὅμως αὐτὰ τὰναγκαιότατα.

Ἐσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν, ἦκε δ' ἀγγέλλων τις ὡς 169

τοὺς πρυτάνεις ὡς Ἐλάτεια κατείληπται. καὶ  
 μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ μὲν εὐθύς ἐξαναστάντες μεταξὺ  
 δειπνοῦντες τοὺς τ' ἐκ τῶν σκηνῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν  
 ἀγορὰν ἐξεῖργον καὶ τὰ γέρρα ἐνεπίμπρασαν, οἱ  
 δὲ τοὺς στρατηγούς μετεπέμποντο καὶ τὸν σαλ-  
 πιγκτὴν ἐκάλουν, καὶ θορύβου πλήρης ἦν ἡ πόλις.  
 τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ μὲν πρυτάνεις  
 τὴν βουλήν ἐκάλουν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὑμεῖς δ'  
 εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπορεύεσθε, καὶ πρὶν ἐκείνην  
 χρηματίσαι καὶ προβουλεύσαι πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἄνω  
 170 καθῆτο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὡς ἦλθεν ἡ βουλή καὶ  
 ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρυτάνεις τὰ προσηγγελμένα ἑαν-  
 τοῖς καὶ τὸν ἦκοντα παρήγαγον κακείνους εἶπεν,  
 ἡρώτα μὲν ὁ κῆρυξ “ τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται ;”  
 παρήει δ' οὐδεῖς. πολλάκις δὲ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐρω-  
 τῶντος οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀνίστατ' οὐδεῖς, ἀπάντων  
 μὲν τῶν στρατηγῶν παρόντων, ἀπάντων δὲ τῶν  
 ῥητόρων, καλούσης δὲ τῆς κοινῆς πατρίδος φωνῆς  
 τὸν ἐροῦνθ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας· ἦν γὰρ ὁ κῆρυξ  
 κατὰ τοὺς νόμους φωνὴν ἀφήσει, ταύτην κοινὴν  
 171 τῆς πατρίδος δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἠγεῖσθαι. καίτοι εἰ  
 μὲν τοὺς σωθῆναι τὴν πόλιν βουλομένους παρελ-  
 θεῖν ἔδει, πάντες ἂν ὑμεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀθη-  
 ναῖοι ἀναστάντες ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐβαδίζετε· πάντες  
 γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι σωθῆναι αὐτὴν ἐβούλεσθε· εἰ δὲ  
 τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους, οἱ τριακόσιοι· εἰ δὲ τοὺς  
 ἀμφότερα ταῦτα, καὶ εὐνοὺς τῇ πόλει καὶ πλου



σίους, οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰς μεγάλας ἐπιδόσεις ἐπιδόντες· καὶ γὰρ εὐνοία καὶ πλούτῳ τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν. ἀλλ' ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ἡ 172 ἡμέρα ἐκείνη οὐ μόνον εὐνοὺν καὶ πλούσιον ἄνδρα ἐκάλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρηκολουθηκότα τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ συλλελογισμένον ὀρθῶς τίνος ἕνεκα ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ τί βουλόμενος· ὁ γὰρ μὴ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς μηδ' ἐξητακῶς πόρρωθεν, οὐτ' εἰ εὐνοὺς ἦν οὐτ' εἰ πλούσιος, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἤμελλεν ὅτι χρὴ ποιεῖν εἴσεσθαι οὐδ' ὑμῖν ἔξειν συμβουλεύειν. ἐφάνην τοίνυν οὗτος 173 ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγώ, καὶ παρελθὼν εἶπον εἰς ὑμᾶς, ἃ μου δυοῖν ἕνεκ' ἀκούσατε προσσχόντες τὸν νοῦν, ἐνὸς μὲν, ἵν' εἰδῆτε ὅτι μόνος τῶν λεγόντων καὶ πολιτευομένων ἐγὼ τὴν τῆς εὐνοίας τάξιν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς οὐκ ἔλιπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγων καὶ γράφων ἐξηταζόμενῃ τὰ δέονθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς φοβεροῖς, ἐτέρου δέ, ὅτι μικρὸν ἀναλώσαντες χρόνον πολλῶ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς πάσης πολιτείας ἔσεσθ' ἐμπειρότεροι. εἶπον τοίνυν ὅτι 174 “ τοὺς μὲν ὡς ὑπαρχόντων Θηβαίων Φιλίππῳ λίαν θορυβουμένους ἀγνοεῖν τὰ παρόντα πράγμαθ' ἠγοῦμαι· εὖ γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι, εἰ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἐτύγχανεν ἔχον, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν ἠκούομεν ἐν Ἐλατεία ὄντα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὀρίοις. ὅτι μέντοι ἵν' ἔτοιμα ποιήσῃται τὰ ἐν Θήβαις ἦκει, σαφῶς ἐπίσταμαι. ὡς δ' ἔχει,” ἔφην, “ ταῦτα, ἀκούσατέ 175

μου. ἐκείνος ὅσους ἦ πείσαι χρήμασι Θηβαίων ἢ ἐξαπατῆσαι ἐνῆν, ἅπαντας εὐτρέπισται, τοὺς δ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀνθεστηκότας αὐτῷ καὶ νῦν ἐναντιομένους οὐδαμῶς πείσαι δύναται. τί οὖν βούλεται, καὶ τίνος ἔνεκα τὴν Ἑλάτειαν κατείληφεν; πλησίον δύναμιν δείξας καὶ παραστήσας τὰ ὄπλα τοὺς μὲν ἑαυτοῦ φίλους ἐπάραι καὶ θρασεῖς ποιῆσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐναντιομένους καταπλῆξαι, ἵν' ἢ συγχωρήσωσι φοβηθέντες ἂ νῦν οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν, 176 ἢ βιασθῶσιν. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν προαιρησόμεθ' ἡμεῖς," ἔφην, "ἐν τῷ παρόντι, εἴ τι δύσκολον πέπρακται Θηβαίοις πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τούτου μεμνήσθαι καὶ ἀπιστεῖν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οὔσι μερίδι, πρῶτον μὲν ἂ ἂν εὖξαιτο Φίλιππος ποιήσομεν, εἶτα φοβοῦμαι μὴ προσδεξαμένων τῶν νῦν ἀνθεστηκότων αὐτῷ καὶ μιᾷ γνώμῃ πάντων φιλιππισάντων εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἔλθωσιν ἀμφότεροι. ἂν μέντοι πεισθῆτ' ἐμοὶ καὶ πρὸς τῷ σκοπεῖν ἀλλὰ μὴ φιλονεικεῖν περὶ ὧν ἂν λέγω γένησθε, οἶμαι καὶ τὰ δέοντα λέγειν δόξειν καὶ τὸν ἐφεστηκότα κίνδυνον τῇ πόλει δια- 177 λύσειν. τί οὖν φημι δεῖν; πρῶτον μὲν τὸν παρόντα ἐπανεῖναι φόβον, εἶτα μεταθέσθαι καὶ φοβεῖσθαι πάντα ὑπὲρ Θηβαίων. πολὺ γὰρ τῶν δεινῶν εἰσιν ἡμῶν ἐγγυτέρω, καὶ προτέροις αὐτοῖς ἔστιν ὁ κίνδυνος. ἔπειτ' ἐξελθόντας Ἑλευσινάδε τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας δείξαι

πάσιν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις ὄντας, ἵνα τοῖς  
 ἐν Θήβαις φρονουσι τὰ ὑμέτερα ἐξ ἴσου γένηται  
 τὸ παρρησιάζεσθαι περὶ τῶν δικαίων, ἰδοῦσιν  
 ὅτι, ὥσπερ τοῖς πωλοῦσι Φιλίππῳ τὴν πατρίδα  
 πάρεσθ' ἢ βοηθήσουσα δύναμις ἐν Ἐλατεία,  
 οὕτω τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνίζεσθαι βου-  
 λομένοις ὑπάρχεθ' ὑμεῖς ἔτοιμοι καὶ βοηθήσετ',  
 εἴαν τις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴη. μετὰ ταῦτα χειροτονῆσαι <sup>178</sup>  
 κελεύω δέκα πρέσβεις, καὶ ποιῆσαι τούτους κυ-  
 ρίους μετὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τοῦ πότε δεῖ  
 βαδίζειν ἐκεῖσε καὶ τῆς ἐξόδου. ἐπειδὰν δ' ἔλ-  
 θωσιν οἱ πρέσβεις εἰς Θήβας, πῶς χρήσασθαι  
 τῷ πράγματι παραινῶ; τούτῳ πάνν μοι προσέ-  
 χετε τὸν νοῦν. μὴ δεῖσθαι Θηβαίων μηδέν (αἰ-  
 σχροὺς γὰρ ὁ καιρὸς) ἀλλ' ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι βοη-  
 θήσειν, εἴαν κελεύωσιν, ὡς ἐκείνων ὄντων ἐν τοῖς  
 ἐσχάτοις, ἡμῶν δὲ ἄμεινον ἢ ἑκείνοι προορωμέ-  
 νων, ἵν' εἴαν μὲν δέξωνται ταῦτα καὶ πεισθῶσιν  
 ἡμῖν, καὶ ἂ βουλόμεθα ὤμεν διωκημένοι καὶ μετὰ  
 προσχήματος ἀξίου τῆς πόλεως ταῦτα πράξωμεν,  
 εἴαν δ' ἄρα μὴ συμβῆ κατατυχεῖν, ἐκείνοι μὲν  
 ἑαυτοῖς ἐγκαλῶσιν, ἂν τι νῦν ἐξαμαρτάνωσιν,  
 ἡμῖν δὲ μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν μηδὲ ταπεινὸν ἢ πεπραγ-  
 μένον." Ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις εἰπὼν <sup>179</sup>  
 κατέβην. συνεπαινεσάντων δὲ πάντων καὶ οὐδε-  
 νὸς εἰπόντος ἐναντίον οὐδὲν οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα,  
 οὐκ ἔγραψα δέ, οὐδ' ἔγραψα μὲν, οὐκ ἐπρέσβευσα

δέ, οὐδ' ἐπρέσβευσα μὲν, οὐκ ἔπεισα δὲ Θηβαίους· ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τῆς τελευτῆς διεξῆλθον, καὶ ἔδωκ' ἑμαυτὸν ὑμῖν ἀπλῶς εἰς τοὺς περιεστηκότας τῇ πόλει κινδύνους. Καί μοι φέρε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ τότε γενόμενον.

180 Καίτοι τίνα βούλει σέ, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ τίνα ἑμαυτὸν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν εἶναι θῶ; βούλει ἑμαυτὸν μὲν, ὃν ἂν σὺ λοιδορούμενος καὶ διασύρων καλέσαις, Βάτταλον, σέ δὲ μηδ' ἥρωα τὸν τυχόντα ἀλλὰ τούτων τινὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς, Κρεσφόντην ἢ Κρέοντα ἢ ὃν ἐν Κολλυτῶ ποτε Οἰνόμαον κακῶς ἐπέτριψας; τότε τοῖνυν κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν ὁ Παιανιεὺς ἐγὼ Βάτταλος Οἰνομάου τοῦ Κοθωκίδου σοῦ πλείονος ἄξιος ὢν ἐφάνην τῇ πατρίδι. σὺ μὲν γε οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ χρήσιμος ἦσθα· ἐγὼ δὲ πάντα, ὅσα προσῆκε τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην, ἔπραττον. Λέγε τὸ ψήφισμά μοι.

#### ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ.

181 [Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ναυσικλέους, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Αἰωντίδος, σκироφοριῶνος ἕκτη ἐπὶ δέκα, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ἔν τε τῷ παρεληλυθότι χρόνῳ παραβαίνων φαίνεται τὰς γεγενημένας αὐτῷ συνθήκας πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, ὑπεριδὼν τοὺς ὄρκους καὶ τὰ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησι νομιζόμενα εἶναι δίκαια, καὶ πόλεις παραιρεῖται οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων οὔσας δοριαλώτους πεποίηκεν οὐδὲν προαδικηθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ἔν τε τῷ παρόντι ἐπὶ πολὺ προ-

άγει τῇ τε βία καὶ τῇ ὠμότητι· καὶ γὰρ Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις ὡς 182  
 μὲν ἐμφρούρους ποιεῖ καὶ τὰς πολιτείας καταλύει, τινὰς δὲ καὶ  
 ἐξανδραποδιζόμενος κατασκάπτει, εἰς ἐνίας δὲ καὶ ἀντὶ Ἑλλήνων  
 βαρβάρους κατοικίζει ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τοὺς τάφους ἐπάγων, οὐδὲν  
 ἀλλότριον ποιῶν οὔτε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος οὔτε τοῦ τρόπου, καὶ  
 τῇ νῦν αὐτῷ παρουσίῃ τύχῃ κατακόρως χρώμενος, ἐπιλελησμένος  
 ἑαυτοῦ ὅτι ἐκ μικροῦ καὶ τοῦ τυχόντος γέγονεν ἀνελπίστως μέγας.  
 καὶ ἕως μὲν πόλεις ἑώρα παραιρούμενον αὐτὸν βαρβάρους καὶ 183  
 ἰδίας, ὑπελάμβανεν ἕλαττον εἶναι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων τὸ εἰς  
 αὐτὸν πλημμελεῖσθαι· νῦν δὲ ὄρων Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις τὰς μὲν  
 ὑβριζόμενας τὰς δὲ ἀναστάτους γιγνομένας, δεινὸν ἡγεῖται εἶναι  
 καὶ ἀνάξιον τῆς τῶν προγόνων δόξης τὸ περιορᾶν τοὺς Ἑλληνας  
 καταδουλουμένους. διὸ δέδοκται τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθη- 184  
 ναίων, εὐξαμένους καὶ θύσαντας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἡρωσι τοῖς κατέ-  
 χουσι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἐνθυμηθέντας  
 τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς, διότι περὶ πλείονος ἐποιοῦντο τὴν τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίαν διατηρεῖν ἢ τὴν ἰδίαν πατρίδα, διακοσίας  
 ναῦς καθέλκειν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καὶ τὸν ναύαρχον ἀναπλεῖν  
 ἐντὸς Πυλῶν, καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ τὸν ἵππαρχον τὰς πεζὰς  
 καὶ τὰς ἱππικὰς δυνάμεις Ἐλευσινάδε ἐξάγειν, πέμψαι δὲ καὶ  
 πρέσβεις πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας, πρῶτον δὲ πάντων πρὸς  
 Θηβαίους διὰ τὸ ἐγγυτάτω εἶναι τὸν Φίλιππον τῆς ἐκείνων χώρας,  
 παρακαλεῖν δὲ αὐτοὺς μηδὲν καταπλαγέντας τὸν Φίλιππον ἀντέ- 185  
 χεσθαι τῆς ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, καὶ  
 ὅτι ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος, οὐδὲν μνησικακῶν εἴ τι πρότερον γέγονεν  
 ἀλλότριον ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς ἀλλήλας, βοηθήσει καὶ δυνάμεσι καὶ  
 χρήμασι καὶ βέλεσι καὶ ὄπλοις, εἰδὼς ὅτι αὐτοῖς μὲν πρὸς ἀλλή-  
 λους διαμφισβητεῖν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας οὐσιν Ἑλλησι καλόν,  
 ὑπὸ δὲ ἀλλοφύλου ἀνθρώπου ἄρχεσθαι καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀπο-  
 στερεῖσθαι ἀνάξιον εἶναι καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων δόξης καὶ τῆς  
 τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς. ἔτι δὲ οὐδὲ ἀλλότριον ἡγεῖται εἶναι ὁ 186  
 Ἀθηναίων δῆμος τὸν Θηβαίων δῆμον οὔτε τῇ συγγενείᾳ οὔτε τῷ



ὁμοφύλῳ. ἀναμιμνήσκειται δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τοὺς Θηβαίων προγόνους εὐεργεσίας· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς Ἡρακλέους παῖδας ἀποστερουμένους ὑπὸ Πελοποννησίων τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς κατήγαγον, τοῖς ὅπλοις κρατήσαντες τοὺς ἀντιβιβαίνειν πειρωμένους τοῖς Ἡρακλέους ἐκγόνοις, καὶ τὸν Οἰδίπουν καὶ τοὺς μετ' ἐκείνου ἐκπεσόντας ὑπεδεξάμεθα, καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ ἡμῖν  
 187 ὑπάρχει φιλάνθρωπα καὶ ἔνδοξα πρὸς Θηβαίους· διόπερ οὐδὲ νῦν ἀποστήσεται ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος τῶν Θηβαίους τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλησι συμφερόντων. συνθέσθαι δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ συμμαχίαν καὶ ἐπιγαμίαν ποιήσασθαι καὶ ὅρκους δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν. πρέσβεις Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς, Ὑπεριδῆς Κλεάνδρου Σφήττιος, Μνησιθειδῆς Ἀντιφάνους Φρεάρριος, Δημοκράτης Σωφίλου Φλυεύς, Κάλλαισχρος Διοτίμου Κοθωκίδης.]

188 Αὕτη τῶν περὶ Θήβας ἐγίγνετο πραγμάτων ἀρχὴ καὶ κατάστασις πρώτη, τὰ πρὸ τούτων εἰς ἔχθραν καὶ μῖσος καὶ ἀπιστίαν τῶν πόλεων ὑπηγμένων ὑπὸ τούτων. τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν τότε

141. Ὁ δ' εἰσάγων ἦν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὰς Θήβας καιρὸς καὶ φόβος καὶ χρεῖα συμμαχίας, ἀλλ' οὐ Δημοσθένης, ἐπεὶ περὶ γε ταύτας τὰς πράξεις τρία τὰ πάντων μέγιστα Δημοσθένης εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐξημάρτηκε, πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι Φιλίππου τῷ μὲν ὀνόματι πολεμοῦντος ὑμῖν, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ πολὺ μᾶλλον μισοῦντος Θηβαίους, ὡς αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα δεδήλωκε, καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ πλείω λέγειν; ταῦτα μὲν τὰ τηλικαῦτα τὸ μέγεθος ἀπεκρύψατο, προσποιησάμενος δὲ μέλλειν τὴν συμμαχίαν γενήσεσθαι οὐ διὰ τοὺς καιροὺς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς αὐτοῦ πρεσβείας πρῶτον μὲν συνέπεισε τὸν δῆμον μήκέτι βουλεύεσθαι, 142. ἐπὶ τίσι δεῖ ποιείσθαι τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾶν μόνον, εἰ γίγνεται, τοῦτο δὲ προλαβὼν ἔκδοτον μὲν τὴν Βοιωτίαν πᾶσαν ἐποίησε Θηβαίους, γράψας ἐν τῷ ψήφισματι, εἴαν τις ἀφιστῆται πόλις ἀπὸ Θηβαίων, βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναίους Βοιωτοῖς τοῖς ἐν Θήβαις, τοῖς ὀνόμασι κλέπτων καὶ μεταφέρων τὰ πράγματα,

τῇ πόλει περιστάντα κίνδυνον παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν ὥσπερ νέφος. ἦν μὲν τοίνυν τοῦ δικαίου πολίτου τότε δεῖξαι πᾶσιν, εἴ τι τούτων εἶχεν ἄμεινον, μὴ νῦν ἐπιτιμᾶν. ὁ γὰρ σύμβουλος καὶ 189 ὁ συκοφάντης, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν εἰκότες, ἐν τούτῳ πλείστον ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσιν· ὁ μὲν γε πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων γνώμην ἀποφαίνεται, καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτὸν ὑπεύθυνον τοῖς πεισθεισιν, τῇ τύχῃ, τῷ καιρῷ, τῷ βουλομένῳ· ὁ δὲ σιγήσας ἡνίκ' ἔδει λέγειν, ἂν τι δύσκολον συμβῆ, τοῦτο βασκαίνει. ἦν μὲν οὖν, ὅπερ εἶπον, ἐκεῖνος ὁ και- 190 ρὸς τοῦ γε φροντίζοντος ἀνδρὸς τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν δικαίων λόγων· ἐγὼ δὲ τοσαύτην ὑπερβολὴν ποιοῦμαι, ὥστε ἂν νῦν ἔχη τις δεῖξαί τι βέλτιον,

ὥσπερ εἶωθεν, ὡς τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς ἔργῳ κακῶς πάσχοντας τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων σύνθεσιν τῶν Δημοσθένους ἀγαπήσοντας, ἀλλ' οὐ μᾶλλον ἐφ' οἷς κακῶς πεπόνθησαν ἀγανακτήσοντας· 143. δεύτερον δὲ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλωμάτων τὰ μὲν δύο μέρη ὑμῖν ἀνέθηκεν, οἷς ἦσαν ἀπώτερω οἱ κίνδυνοι, τὸ δὲ τρίτον μέρος Θηβαίοις, δωροδοκῶν ἐφ' ἐκάστοις τούτων, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τὴν μὲν κατὰ θάλατταν ἐποίησε κοινήν, τὸ δ' ἀνάλωμα ἴδιον ὑμέτερον, τὴν δὲ κατὰ γῆν, εἰ μὴ δεῖ ληρεῖν, ἄρδην φέρων ἀνέθηκε Θηβαίοις, ὥστε παρὰ τὸν γενόμενον πόλεμον μὴ κύριον γενέσθαι Στρατοκλέα τὸν ἡμέτερον στρατηγὸν βουλευέσασθαι περὶ τῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν σωτηρίας. 144. καὶ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐγὼ μὲν κατηγορῶ, ἕτεροι δὲ παραλείπουσιν, ἀλλὰ καγὼ λέγω καὶ πάντες ἐπιτιμῶσι καὶ ὑμεῖς σύνιστε καὶ οὐκ ὀργίζεσθε. ἐκεῖνο γὰρ πεπόνθατε πρὸς Δημοσθένην· συνείθισθε ἤδη τὰδικήματα τὰ τούτου ἀκούειν, ὥστε οὐ θαυμάζετε. δεῖ δὲ οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλ' ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι, εἰ χρὴ τὰ λοιπὰ τῇ πόλει καλῶς ἔχειν.

- ἢ ὅπως εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐνῆν πλὴν ὧν ἐγὼ προειλόμην, ἀδικεῖν ὁμολογῶ. εἰ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅ τι τις νῦν ἐώρακεν, ὃ συνήνεγκεν ἂν τότεπραχθέν, τοῦτ' ἐγὼ φημι δεῖν ἐμὲ μὴ λαθεῖν. εἰ δὲ μὴτ' ἔστι μῆτε ἦν μὴτ' ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι μηδεὶς μηδέπω καὶ τήμερον, τί τὸν σύμβουλον ἐχρῆν ποιεῖν; οὐ τῶν φαινόμενων καὶ ἐνόητων τὰ κράτιστα ἐλέσθαι;
- 191 τοῦτο τοίνυν ἐποίησα, τοῦ κήρυκος ἐρωτῶντος, Λισχίνη, “τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται;” οὐ “τίς αἰτιασθαι περὶ τῶν παρεληλυθότων,” οὐδὲ “τίς ἐγγυᾶσθαι τὰ μέλλοντ' ἔσεσθαι.” σοῦ δ' ἀφώνου κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καθημένου ἐγὼ παριῶν ἔλεγον. ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐ τότε, ἀλλὰ νῦν δεῖξον. εἰπέ τίς ἦ λόγος, ὄντιν' ἐχρῆν εὐπορεῖν, ἢ καιρὸς συμφέρων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ παρελείφθη τῇ πόλει; τίς δὲ συμμαχία, τίς πρᾶξις, ἐφ' ἣν μᾶλλον ἔδει με ἀγαγεῖν τουτουσί;
- 192 Ἄλλὰ μὴν τὸ μὲν παρεληλυθὸς ἀεὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀφείται, καὶ οὐδεὶς περὶ τούτου προτίθησιν οὐδαμοῦ βουλήν· τὸ δὲ μέλλον ἢ τὸ παρὸν τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου τάξιν ἀπαιτεῖ. τότε τοίνυν τὰ μὲν ἤμελλεν, ὡς ἐδόκει, τῶν δεινῶν, τὰ δ' ἤδη παρῆν, ἐν οἷς τὴν προαίρεσίν μου σκόπει τῆς πολιτείας, μὴ τὰ συμβάντα συκοφάντει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πέρασ, ὡς ἂν ὁ δαίμων βουλευθῆ, πάντων γίγνεται· ἢ δὲ προαίρεσις αὐτῇ τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου διάνοιαν
- 193 δηλοῖ. μὴ δὴ τοῦτο ὡς ἀδίκημα ἐμὸν θῆς, εἰ

κρατῆσαι συνέβη Φιλίππῳ τῇ μάχῃ· ἐν γὰρ τῷ θεῷ τὸ τούτου τέλος ἦν, οὐκ ἐμοί. ἀλλ' ὡς οὐχ ἅπαντα ὅσα ἐνῆν κατ' ἀνθρώπινον λογισμὸν εἰλόμην, καὶ δικαίως ταῦτα καὶ ἐπιμελῶς ἔπραξα καὶ φιλοπόνως ὑπὲρ δύναμιν, ἣ ὡς οὐ καλὰ καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἄξια πράγματα ἐνεστησάμην καὶ ἀναγκαῖα, ταῦτά μοι δεῖξον, καὶ τότε ἤδη κατηγορεῖ μου. εἰ δ' ὁ συμβὰς σκηπτὸς μὴ μόνον ἡμῶν 194 ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μείζων γέγονε, τί χρῆ ποιεῖν; ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ναύκληρον πάντ' ἐπὶ σωτηρία πράξαντα καὶ κατασκευάσαντα τὸ πλοῖον ἀφ' ὧν ὑπελάμβανε σωθήσασθαι, εἶτα χειμῶνι χρησάμενον καὶ πονησάντων αὐτῷ τῶν σκευῶν ἢ καὶ συντριβέντων ὅλως, τῆς ναυαγίας αἰτιῶτο. ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἐκυβέρνηων τὴν ναῦν, φήσειεν ἂν, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἐστρατήγουν ἐγώ, οὔτε τῆς τύχης κύριος ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη τῶν πάντων. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο λογίζου καὶ ὄρα· εἰ μετὰ Θηβαίων 195 ἡμῖν ἀγωνιζομένοις οὕτως εἴμαρτο πράξαι, τί χρῆν προσδοκᾶν, εἰ μὴδὲ τούτους ἔσχομεν συμμάχους ἀλλὰ Φιλίππῳ προσέθεντο, ὑπὲρ οὗ τότε ἐκεῖνος πάσας ἀφήκε φωνάς; καὶ εἰ νῦν τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὁδὸν τῆς μάχης γενομένης τοσοῦτος κίνδυνος καὶ φόβος περιέστη τὴν πόλιν, τί ἂν, εἰ που τῆς χώρας ταῦτὸ τοῦτο πάθος συνέβη, προσδοκῆσαι χρῆν; ἄρ' οἴσθ' ὅτι νῦν μὲν στῆναι, συνελθεῖν, ἀναπνεῦσαι, πολλὰ μία

ἡμέρα καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἔδοσαν τῶν εἰς σωτηρίαν τῇ πόλει, τότε δ', — οὐκ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν, ἃ γε μηδὲ πείραν ἔδωκε θεῶν τινος εὐνοία καὶ τῷ πρὸς βάλλεσθαι τὴν πόλιν ταύτην τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἧς σὺ κατηγορεῖς.

- 196 \*Ἔστι δὲ ταυτὶ πάντα μοι τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες δικασταί, καὶ τοὺς περιεστηκότας ἔξωθεν καὶ ἀκρωμένους, ἐπεὶ πρὸς γε τοῦτον τὸν κατάπτυστον βραχὺς καὶ σαφὴς ἐξήρκει λόγος. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν σοι πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα, Αἰσχίνη, μόνῳ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅτ' ἐβουλευέθ' ἡ πόλις περὶ τούτων, τότε ἔδει προλέγειν. εἰ δὲ μὴ προήδεις, τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγνοίας ὑπεύθυνος εἶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥστε τί μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ σὺ ταῦτα κατηγορεῖς ἢ ἐγὼ σοῦ ;
- 197 τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀμείνων ἐγὼ σοῦ πολίτης γέγονα εἰς αὐτὰ ταῦθ' ἃ λέγω (καὶ οὐπω περὶ τῶν ἄλλων διαλέγομαι), ὅσον ἐγὼ μὲν ἔδωκα ἑμαυτὸν εἰς τὰ πᾶσι δοκοῦντα συμφέρειν, οὐδένα κίνδυνον ὀκνήσας ἴδιον οὐδ' ὑπολογισάμενος, σὺ δὲ οὐθ' ἕτερα εἶπες βελτίῳ τούτων (οὐ γὰρ ἂν τούτοις ἐχρῶντο) οὐτ' εἰς ταῦτα χρήσιμον οὐδὲν σαυτὸν παρέσχες, ὅπερ δ' ἂν ὁ φαυλότατος καὶ δυσμενέστατος ἄνθρωπος τῇ πόλει, τοῦτο πεποιηκὼς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβάσιν ἐξήτασαι, καὶ ἅμα Ἄριστρατος ἐν Νάξῳ καὶ Ἀριστόλεως ἐν Θάσῳ, οἱ καθάπαξ ἐχθροὶ τῆς πόλεως, τοὺς Ἀθηναίων κρίνουσι φίλους καὶ Ἀθήνησιν Αἰσχίνης Δημοσθένους κατηγορεῖ.



καίτοι ὄτω τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀτυχήματα ἐνευδο- 193  
 κιμῆν ἀπέκειτο, ἀπολωλέναι μᾶλλον οὗτός ἐστι  
 δίκαιος ἢ κατηγορεῖν ἑτέρου· καὶ ὄτω συνενη-  
 νόχασιν οἱ αὐτοὶ καιροὶ καὶ τοῖς τῆς πόλεως  
 ἐχθροῖς, οὐκ ἔνι τούτων εὖνουν εἶναι τῇ πατρίδι.  
 δηλοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὧν ζῆς καὶ ποιεῖς καὶ πολιτεύῃ  
 καὶ πάλιν οὐ πολιτεύῃ. πράττεται τι τῶν ὑμῖν  
 δοκούντων συμφέρειν; ἄφωνος Αἰσχίνης. ἀντέ-  
 κρουσέ τι καὶ γέγονεν οἶον οὐκ ἔδει; πάρεστιν  
 Αἰσχίνης, ὥσπερ τὰ ῥήγματα καὶ τὰ σπάσματα,  
 ὅταν τι κακὸν τὸ σῶμα λάβῃ, τότε κινεῖται.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολὺς τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν ἔγκειται, 199  
 βούλομαί τι καὶ παράδοξον εἰπεῖν. καί μου πρὸς  
 Διὸς καὶ θεῶν μηδεὶς τὴν ὑπερβολὴν θαυμάσῃ,  
 ἀλλὰ μετ' εὐνοίας ὃ λέγω θεωρησάτω. εἰ γὰρ ἦν  
 ἅπασι πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα γενήσεσθαι, καὶ προ-  
 ῆδεσαν πάντες, καὶ σὺ προὔλεγες, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ  
 διεμαρτύρου βουῶν καὶ κεκραγώς, ὃς οὐδ' ἐφθέγξω,  
 οὐδ' οὕτως ἀποστατέον τῇ πόλει τούτων ἦν, εἴ περ  
 ἢ δόξης ἢ προγόνων ἢ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος εἶχε  
 λόγον. νῦν μὲν γε ἀποτυχεῖν δοκεῖ τῶν πραγμά- 200  
 των, ὃ πᾶσι κοινόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις, ὅταν τῷ θεῷ  
 ταῦτα δοκῇ· τότε δ' ἀξιούσα προεστάναι τῶν  
 ἄλλων, εἴτ' ἀποστᾶσα τούτου, Φιλίππῳ προδεδω-  
 κέναι πάντας ἂν ἔσχευ αἰτίαν. εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα  
 προεἶτό ἀκονιτί, περὶ ὧν οὐδένα κίνδυνον ὄντιν'  
 οὐχ ὑπέμειναν οἱ πρόγονοι, τίς οὐχὶ κατέπτυσεν

ἂν σοῦ; μὴ γὰρ τῆς πόλεως γε, μηδ' ἐμοῦ.  
 201 τίσι δ' ὀφθαλμοῖς πρὸς Διὸς ἑωρῶμεν ἂν τοὺς εἰς  
 τὴν πόλιν ἀνθρώπους ἀφικνουμένους, εἰ τὰ μὲν  
 πράγματ' εἰς ὅπερ νυνὶ περιέστη, ἡγεμῶν δὲ καὶ  
 κύριος ἦρέθη Φίλιππος ἀπάντων, τὸν δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
 μὴ γενέσθαι ταῦτ' ἀγῶνα ἕτεροι χωρὶς ἡμῶν  
 ἦσαν πεπονημένοι, καὶ ταῦτα μηδεπώποτε τῆς  
 πόλεως ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθε χρόνοις ἀσφάλειαν  
 ἄδοξον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν καλῶν κίνδυνον  
 202 ἡρημένης; τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν Ἑλλήνων, τίς δὲ  
 βαρβάρων, ὅτι καὶ παρὰ Θηβαίων καὶ παρὰ  
 τῶν ἔτι τούτων πρότερον ἰσχυρῶν γενομένων  
 Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως  
 μετὰ πολλῆς χάριτος τοῦτ' ἂν ἀσμένως ἐδόθη τῇ  
 πόλει, ὃ τι βούλεται λαβούσῃ καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῆς  
 ἐχούσῃ τὸ κελευόμενον ποιεῖν καὶ ἔαν ἕτερον τῶν  
 203 Ἑλλήνων προεστάναι; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν ταῦθ', ὡς  
 εἴοικε, τοῖς τότε Ἀθηναίοις πάτρια οὐδ' ἀνεκτὰ  
 οὐδ' ἔμφυτα, οὐδ' ἠδυνήθη πώποτε τὴν πόλιν  
 οὐδεὶς ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου πείσαι τοῖς ἰσχύ-  
 ουσι μὲν μὴ δίκαια δὲ πράττουσι προσθεμένην  
 ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν, ἀλλ' ἀγωνιζομένη περὶ πρω-  
 τείων καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης κινδυνεύουσα πάντα  
 204 τὸν αἰῶνα διατετέλεκεν. καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτω σεμνὰ  
 καὶ προσήκοντα τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἦθεσιν ὑμεῖς ὑπο-  
 λαμβάνετ' εἶναι, ὥστε καὶ τῶν προγόνων τοὺς  
 ταῦτα πράξαντας μάλιστ' ἐπαινεῖτε. εἰκότως·

τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀγάσαιο τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων τῆς ἀρετῆς, οἳ καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν ὑπέμειναν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ἐμβάντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τὸ κελευόμενον ποιῆσαι, τὸν μὲν ταῦτα συμβουλεύσαντα Θεμιστοκλέα στρατηγὸν ἐλόμενοι, τὸν δ' ὑπακούειν ἀποφηνάμενον τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις Κυρσίλον καταλιθώσαντες, οὐ μόνον αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ ὑμέτεραι τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ. οὐ γὰρ ἐζήτουν οἱ τότε Ἀθηναῖοι 205 οὔτε ῥήτορα οὔτε στρατηγὸν δι' ὅτου δουλεύουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ζῆν ἠξίουν, εἰ μὴ μετ' ἐλευθερίας ἐξέσται τοῦτο ποιεῖν. ἠγεῖτο γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος οὐχὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ μόνον γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι. διαφέρει δὲ τί; ὅτι ὁ μὲν τοῖς γονεῦσι μόνον γεγενῆσθαι νομίζων τὸν τῆς εἰμαρμένης καὶ τὸν αὐτόματον θάνατον περιμένει, ὁ δὲ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ταύτην ἐπιδεῖν δουλεύουσιν ἀποθνήσκειν ἐθελήσει, καὶ φοβερωτέρας ἠγήσεται τὰς ὑβρεῖς καὶ τὰς ἀτιμίας, ἅς ἐν δουλευούσῃ τῇ πόλει φέρειν ἀνάγκη, τοῦ θανάτου.

Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτ' ἐπεχείρουν λέγειν, ὡς ἐγὼ 206 προήγαγον ὑμᾶς ἄξια τῶν προγόνων φρονεῖν, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅστις οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἐπιτιμήσειέ μοι. νῦν δ' ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμέτερας τὰς τοιαύτας προαιρέσεις ἀποφαίνω, καὶ δείκνυμι ὅτι καὶ πρὸ ἐμοῦ τοῦτ' εἶχε τὸ φρόνημα ἢ πόλις, τῆς μέντοι διακονίας

τῆς ἐφ' ἐκάστοις τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ ἐμαντῶ  
 207 μετεῖναί φημι, οὗτος δὲ τῶν ὄλων κατηγορῶν, καὶ  
 κελεύων ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ πικρῶς ἔχειν ὡς φόβων καὶ  
 κινδύνων αἰτίῳ τῇ πόλει, τῆς μὲν εἰς τὸ παρὸν  
 τιμῆς ἐμὲ ἀποστερηῆσαι γλίχεται, τὰ δ' εἰς ἅπαν-  
 τα τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἐγκώμια ὑμῶν ἀφαιρεῖται.  
 εἰ γὰρ ὡς οὐ τὰ βέλτιστα ἐμοῦ πολιτευσαμένου  
 τουδὶ καταψηφιεῖσθε, ἡμαρτηκένοι δόξετε, οὐ τῇ  
 τῆς τύχης ἀγνωμοσύνη τὰ συμβάντα παθεῖν.  
 208 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἡμάρτετε, ἄνδρες  
 Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπάντων ἐλευθερίας καὶ  
 σωτηρίας κίνδυνον ἀράμενοι, μὰ τοὺς Μαραθῶνι  
 προκινδυνεύσαντας τῶν προγόνων καὶ τοὺς ἐν  
 Πλαταιαῖς παραταξαμένους καὶ τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι  
 ναυμαχήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ καὶ  
 πολλοὺς ἑτέρους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις μνήμασι  
 κειμένους ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, οὓς ἅπαντας ὁμοίως

181. Ὅτι δὲ ὀρθῶς λέγω, ἔτι μικρῶ σαφέστερον ὑμᾶς βούλομαι  
 διδάξαι. πότερον ὑμῖν ἀμείνων ἀνὴρ εἶναι δοκεῖ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ  
 στρατηγῆσας, ὅτ' ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίᾳ τὸν Πέρσην ἐνίκητε,  
 ἢ Δημοσθένης ὁ τὴν τάξιν λιπών; Μιλτιάδης δὲ ὁ τὴν ἐν Μα-  
 ραθῶνι μάχην τοὺς βαρβάρους νικήσας, ἢ οὗτος; ἔτι δ' οἱ ἀπὸ  
 Φυλῆς φεύγοντα τὸν δῆμον καταγαγόντες; Ἀριστείδης δ' ὁ δί-  
 καιος, ὁ τὴν ἀνόμοιον ἔχων ἐπωνυμίαν Δημοσθένει; 182. ἀλλ'  
 ἔγωγε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς Ὀλυμπίους οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις  
 ἄξιον ἡγοῦμαι μεμνήσθαι τοῦ θηρίου τούτου καὶ ἐκείνων τῶν ἀν-  
 δρῶν. ἐπιδειξάτω τοίνυν Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ λόγῳ, εἴ που  
 γέγραπταί τινα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων στεφανῶσαι. ἀχάριστος ἄρ' ἦν  
 ὁ δῆμος; οὐκ, ἀλλὰ μεγαλόφρων, κἀκεῖνοί γε οἱ μὴ τετιμημένοι

ἡ πόλις τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξιώσασα τιμῆς ἔθαψεν, Λισχίνη, οὐχὶ τοὺς κατορθώσαντας αὐτῶν οὐδὲ τοὺς κρατήσαντας μόνους. δικαίως· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργον, ἅπασι πέπρακται, τῇ τύχῃ δ', ἣν ὁ δαίμων ἔνειμεν ἐκάστοις, ταύτη κέχρηται. ἔπειτ', ὧ κατάρατε καὶ γραμματοκύ- 209 φων, σὺ μὲν τῆς παρὰ τουτωνὶ τιμῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας ἔμ' ἀποστερήσαι βουλόμενος τρόπαια καὶ μάχας καὶ παλαιὰ ἔργα ἔλεγες, ὧν τίνος προσεδείτο ὁ παρῶν ἀγῶν οὐτοσί; ἐμὲ δέ, ὧ τριταγωνιστά, τὸν περὶ τῶν πρωτείων σύμβουλον τῇ πόλει παριόντα τὸ τίνος φρόνημα λαβόντ' ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμ' ἔδει; τὸ τοῦ τούτων ἀνάξια ἐροῦντος; δικαίως μὲντ' ἂν ἀπέθανον· ἐπεὶ 210 οὐδ' ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς διανοίας δεῖ τὰς τε ἰδίας δίκας καὶ τὰς δημοσίας κρίνειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν βίου συμβόλαια ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων νόμων καὶ ἔργων σκοποῦντας, τὰς δὲ κοινὰς προαιρέσεις εἰς τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἀξιώματα ἀποβλέποντας. καὶ παραλαμβάνειν γε

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τῆς πόλεως ἄξιοι· οὐ γὰρ ᾤοντο δεῖν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι τιμᾶσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν εὖ πεπονητότων, ἣ ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου μέχρι τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας ἀθάνατος οὔσα διαμένει. δωρεὰς δὲ τίνας ἐλάμβανον; ὧν ἄξιόν ἐστι μνησθῆναι. 259. Θεμιστοκλέα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι τελευτήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς τάφους τοὺς τῶν προγόνων οὐκ οἶεσθε στεναάζειν, εἰ ὁ μετὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ὁμολογῶν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀντιπράττειν στεφανωθήσεται;



ἄμα τῇ βακτηρίᾳ καὶ τῷ συμβόλῳ τὸ φρόνημα τὸ τῆς πόλεως νομίζειν ἕκαστον ὑμῶν δεῖ, ὅταν τὰ δημόσια εἰσίσητε κρινούντες, εἴ περ ἄξια ἐκείνων πράττειν οἴεσθε χρῆναι.

211 Ἄλλὰ γὰρ ἐμπεσὼν εἰς τὰ πεπραγμένα τοῖς προγόνοις ὑμῶν ἔστιν ἅ τῶν ψηφισμάτων παρέβην καὶ τῶν πραχθέντων. ἐπανελθεῖν οὖν, ὁπόθεν ἐνταῦθ' ἐξέβην, βούλομαι.

Ὡς γὰρ ἀφικόμεθ' εἰς τὰς Θήβας, κατελαμβάνομεν Φιλίππου καὶ Θετταλῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων παρόντας πρέσβεις, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἡμετέρους φίλους ἐν φόβῳ, τοὺς δ' ἐκείνου θρασεῖς. ὅτι δ' οὐ νῦν ταῦτα λέγω τοῦ συμφέροντος ἕνεκα ἐμαυτῷ, λέγε μοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν τότε ἐπέμψαμεν εὐθύς οἱ πρέσβεις. καίτοι τοσαύτη γ' ὑπερβολῇ συκοφαντίας οὗτος κέχρηται, ὥστ' εἰ μὲν τι τῶν δεόντων ἐπράχθη, τὸν καιρόν, οὐκ ἐμέ φησιν αἴτιον γεγενῆσθαι, τῶν δ' ὡς ἐτέρως συμβάντων ἀπάντων ἐμὲ καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην αἰτίαν εἶναι. καὶ ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ σύμβουλος καὶ ῥήτωρ ἐγὼ τῶν μὲν ἐκ λόγου καὶ τοῦ βουλευσασθαι πρα-

137. Ἄλλ' οἶμαι, οὔτε Φρυνώνδας οὔτε Εὐρύβατος οὔτ' ἄλλος οὐδεὶς πώποτε τῶν πάλαι πονηρῶν τοιοῦτος μάγος καὶ γόης ἐγένετο, ὅς, ὃ γῆ καὶ θεοὶ καὶ δαίμονες καὶ ἄνθρωποι ὅσοι βούλεσθε ἀκούειν τάληθῆ, τολμᾷ λέγειν βλέπων εἰς τὰ πρόσωπα τὰ ὑμέτερα, ὡς ἄρα Θεβαῖοι τὴν συμμαχίαν ὑμῖν ἐποιήσαντο οὐ διὰ τὸν καιρόν, οὐ διὰ τὸν φόβον τὸν περιστάντα αὐτούς, οὐ διὰ τὴν ὑμέτεραν δόξαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς Δημοσθένους δημηγορίας.

χθέντων οὐδὲν αὐτῷ συναίτιος εἶναι δοκῶ, τῶν δ' ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀτυχηθέντων μόνος αἴτιος εἶναι. πῶς ἂν ὠμότερος συκοφάντης γένοιτ' ἢ καταρατότερος; Λέγε τὴν ἐπιστολήν.

## ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐποίησαντο τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, <sup>213</sup> προσήγον ἐκείνους προτέρους διὰ τὸ τὴν τῶν συμμάχων τάξιν ἐκείνους ἔχειν. καὶ παρελθόντες ἐδημηγόρουν πολλὰ μὲν Φίλιππον ἐγκωμιάζοντες, πολλὰ δ' ὑμῶν κατηγοροῦντες, πάνθ' ὅσα πώποτ' ἐναντία ἐπράξατε Θηβαίοις ἀναμιμνήσκοντες. τὸ δ' οὖν κεφάλαιον, ἡξίουν ὦν μὲν εὖ πεπόνθεσαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου χάριν αὐτοὺς ἀποδοῦναι, ὦν δ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἠδίκηντο δίκην λαβεῖν, ὅποτέρως βούλονται, ἢ διέντας αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἢ συνεμβalόντας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, καὶ ἐδείκνυσαν, ὡς ᾤοντο, ἐκ μὲν ὦν αὐτοὶ συνεβούλευον τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς βοσκήματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ τᾶλλ' ἀγαθὰ εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἡξόντα, ἐκ δὲ ὦν ἡμᾶς ἐρεῖν ἔφασαν τὰ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ διαρπασθησόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις, εἰς ταῦτα δὲ πάντα συντείνοντ' ἔλεγον. ἃ δ' ἡμεῖς πρὸς ταῦτα, τὰ μὲν καθ' ἕκαστα <sup>214</sup> ἐγὼ μὲν ἀντὶ παντὸς ἂν τιμησαίμην εἰπεῖν τοῦ βίου, ὑμᾶς δὲ δέδοικα, μὴ παρεληλυθότων τῶν

καιρῶν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ καὶ κατακλυσμὸν γεγενῆσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων ἠγούμενοι, μάταιον ὄχλον τοὺς περὶ τούτων λόγους νομίσητε· ὅ τι δ' οὖν ἐπέισαμεν ἡμεῖς καὶ ἡμῖν ἀπεκρίναντο, ἀκούσατε. Λέγε ταυτὶ λαβῶν.

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ.

- 215 Μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐκάλουν ὑμᾶς καὶ μετεπέμ-  
ποντο. ἐξῆτε, ἐβοηθεῖτε, ἵνα τὰν μέσῳ παρα-  
λείπω, οὕτως οἰκείως ὑμᾶς ἐδέχοντο, ὥστ' ἐξω  
τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἰππέων ὄντων εἰς τὰς οἰκίας  
καὶ τὸ ἄστυ δέχεσθαι τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ παῖδας  
καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τιμιώτατα. καίτοι τρία ἐν  
ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἔδειξαν ἐγκώ-  
μια Θηβαῖοι καθ' ὑμῶν τὰ κάλλιστα, ἐν μὲν ἀν-  
δρίας, ἕτερον δὲ δικαιοσύνης, τρίτον δὲ σωφρο-  
σύνης. καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἀγῶνα μᾶλλον μεθ' ὑμῶν  
ἢ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλόμενοι ποιήσασθαι καὶ ἀμείνους  
εἶναι καὶ δικαιότερ' ἀξιούν ὑμᾶς ἔκριναν Φιλίπ-  
που· καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι δ' ἐν  
πλείστη φυλακῇ, παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας, ἐφ' ὑμῖν  
ποιήσαντες σωφροσύνης πίστιν περὶ ὑμῶν ἔχον-  
216 τες ἔδειξαν. ἐν οἷς πᾶσιν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατὰ  
γ' ὑμᾶς ὀρθῶς ἐφάνησαν ἐγνωκότες. οὔτε γὰρ εἰς  
τὴν πόλιν εἰσελθόντος τοῦ στρατοπέδου οὐδεὶς  
οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἀδίκως ὑμῖν ἐνεκάλεσεν· οὕτω σώ-  
φρονας παρέσχετε ὑμᾶς αὐτούς· δῖς τε συμπαρα-

ταξάμενοι τὰς πρώτας, τὴν τ' ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὴν χειμερινήν, οὐκ ἀμέμπτους μόνον ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμαστοὺς ἐδείξατε τῷ κόσμῳ, ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, τῇ προθυμίᾳ. ἐφ' οἷς παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ὑμῖν ἐγίγοντο ἔπαινοι, παρὰ δ' ὑμῶν θυσίαι καὶ πομπαὶ τοῖς θεοῖς. καὶ ἔγωγε <sup>217</sup> ἠδέως ἂν ἐροίμην Λισχίνην, ὅτε ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο καὶ ζήλου καὶ χαρᾶς καὶ ἐπαίνων ἢ πόλις ἦν μεστή, πότερον συνέθνε καὶ συνευφραίνετο τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἢ λυπούμενος καὶ στένων καὶ δυσμεναίνων τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀγαθοῖς οἴκοι καθῆτο. εἰ μὲν γὰρ παρῆν καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐζητάζετο, πῶς οὐ δεινὰ ποιεῖ, μᾶλλον δ' οὐδ' ὅσια, εἰ ὦν ὡς ἀρίστων αὐτὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐποιήσατο μάρτυρας, ταῦθ' ὡς οὐκ ἄριστα νῦν ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῖ ψηφίσασθαι, τοὺς ὁμωμοκότας τοὺς θεοὺς; εἰ δὲ μὴ παρῆν, πῶς οὐκ ἀπολωλέναι πολλάκις ἐστὶ δίκαιος, εἰ ἐφ' οἷς ἔχαιρον οἱ ἄλλοι, ταῦτα ἐλυπέιτο ὁρῶν; Λέγε δὴ καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματά μοι.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ ΘΥΣΙΩΝ.

Οὐκοῦν ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐν θυσίαις ἦμεν τότε, Θη- <sup>218</sup> βαῖοι δ' ἐν τῷ δι' ἡμᾶς σεσῶσθαι νομίζειν, καὶ περιειστήκει τοῖς βοηθείας δεήσεσθαι νομίζουσιν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπραττον οὗτοι, αὐτοὺς βοηθεῖν ἐτέροις ἐξ ὧν ἐπέισθητ' ἐμοί. ἀλλὰ μὴν οἷας τότε ἠφίει φωνὰς ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ ἐν οἷαις ἦν ταραχαῖς ἐπὶ τού-

τοῖς, ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τῶν ἐκείνου μαθήσεσθε  
 ὧν εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἔπεμπεν. καί μοι λέγε  
 ταύτας λαβών, ἵν' εἰδῆτε, ἢ ἐμῆ συνέχεια καὶ  
 πλάνοι καὶ ταιλαιπωρίαὶ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ψηφί-  
 σματα, ἃ νῦν οὗτος διέσυρε, τί ἀπειργάσατο.

- 219 Καίτοι πολλοὶ παρ' ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, γε-  
 γόνασι ῥήτορες ἔνδοξοι καὶ μεγάλοι πρὸ ἐμοῦ,  
 Καλλίστρατος ἐκεῖνος, Ἀριστοφῶν, Κέφαλος,  
 Θρασύβουλος, ἕτεροι μυρίοι· ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδεὶς  
 πώποτε τούτων διὰ παντὸς ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς  
 οὐδὲν τῇ πόλει, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν γράφων οὐκ ἂν ἐπρέ-  
 σβευσεν, ὁ δὲ πρεσβεύων οὐκ ἂν ἔγραψεν. ὑπέ-  
 λειπε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ἑαυτῷ ἅμα μὲν ῥαστώ-  
 220 νην, ἅμα δ', εἴ τι γένοιτ', ἀναφοράν. τί οὖν;  
 εἶποι τις ἂν, σὺ τοσοῦτον ὑπερῆρας ῥώμη καὶ  
 τόλμη ὥστε πάντα ποιεῖν αὐτός; οὐ ταῦτα λέγω,  
 ἀλλ' οὕτως ἐπεπέισμην μέγαν εἶναι τὸν κατειλη-  
 φότα κίνδυνον τὴν πόλιν, ὥστ' οὐκ ἔδοκει μοι  
 χώραν οὐδὲ πρόνοιαν οὐδεμίαν τῆς ἰδίας ἀσφα-  
 λείας διδόναι, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητὸν εἶναι, εἰ μηδὲν πα-  
 221 ραλείπων τις ἃ δεῖ πράξειεν. ἐπεπέισμην δ'  
 ὑπὲρ ἑμαυτοῦ, τυχὸν μὲν ἀναισθητῶν, ὅμως δ'  
 ἐπεπέισμην, μήτε γράφοντ' ἂν ἐμοῦ γράψαι βέλ-  
 τιον μηδένα, μήτε πράττοντα πράξαι, μήτε πρε-  
 σβεύοντα πρεσβεῦσαι προθυμότερον μηδὲ δικαιο-  
 τερον. διὰ ταῦτα ἐν πάσιν ἑμαυτὸν ἔταπτον.  
 Λέγε τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τὰς τοῦ Φιλίππου.



## ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ.

Εἰς ταῦτα κατέστησε Φίλιππον ἡ ἐμὴ πολιτεία, 222  
 Αἰσχίνη· ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν ἐκεῖνος ἀφῆκε, πολ-  
 λούς καὶ θρασεῖς τὰ πρὸ τούτων τῇ πόλει ἐπαι-  
 ρόμενος λόγους. ἀνθ' ὧν δικαίως ἐστεφανούμην  
 ὑπὸ τουτωνί, καὶ σὺ παρῶν οὐκ ἀντέλεγες, ὁ δὲ  
 γραψάμενος Διώνδας τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων οὐκ  
 ἔλαβεν. Καί μοι λαβὲ ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματα τὰ  
 ἀποπεφευγότα, ὑπὸ τούτου δ' οὐδὲ γραφέντα.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

Ταυτὶ τὰ ψηφίσματ', ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰς 223  
 αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς καὶ ταῦτὰ ῥήματ' ἔχει, ἅπερ πρό-  
 τερον μὲν Ἀριστόνικος νῦν δὲ Κτησιφῶν γέγραφεν  
 οὐτοσί. καὶ ταυτ' Αἰσχίνης οὐτ' ἐδίωξεν αὐτὸς  
 οὔτε τῷ γραψαμένῳ συγκατηγόρησεν. καίτοι τότε  
 τὸν Δημομέλη τὸν ταῦτα γράφοντα καὶ τὸν Ὑπε-  
 ρεΐδην, εἴ περ ἀληθῆ μου νῦν κατηγορεῖ, μᾶλλον  
 ἂν εἰκότως ἢ τόνδ' ἐδίωκεν. διὰ τί; ὅτι τῷδε 224  
 μὲν ἔστ' ἀνευγκεῖν ἐπ' ἐκείνους καὶ τὰς τῶν δικα-  
 στηρίων γνώσεις καὶ τὸ τοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐκείνων μὴ  
 κατηγορηκέναι ταῦτα γραψάντων ἅπερ οὗτος νῦν,  
 καὶ τὸ τοὺς νόμους μηκέτ' εἶαν περὶ τῶν οὕτω πρα-  
 χθέντων κατηγορεῖν, καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα· τότε δ'  
 αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἂν ἐκρίνετο ἐφ' αὐτοῦ, πρὶν τι  
 τούτων προλαβεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν οἶμαι τότε ὁ νυνὶ 225

ποιεῖν, ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων καὶ ψηφισμάτων πολ-  
λῶν ἐκλέξαντα, ἃ μήτε προήδει μηδεὶς μήτ' ἂν  
ὤήθη τήμερον ῥηθῆναι, διαβάλλειν, καὶ μετενεγ-  
κόντα τοὺς χρόνους καὶ προφάσεις ἀντὶ τῶν ἀλη-  
θῶν ψευδεῖς μεταθέντα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις δοκεῖν  
226 τι λέγειν. οὐκ ἦν τότε ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλη-  
θείας, ἐγγὺς τῶν ἔργων, ἔτι μεμνημένων ὑμῶν καὶ  
μόνον οὐκ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἕκαστα ἐχόντων, πάν-  
τες ἐγίγνοντ' ἂν οἱ λόγοι. διόπερ τοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ  
τὰ πράγματ' ἐλέγχους φηγὼν νῦν ἤκει, ῥητόρων  
ἀγῶνα νομίζων, ὡς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, καὶ οὐχὶ τῶν  
πεπολιτευμένων ἐξέτασιν ποιήσῃ ὑμᾶς, καὶ  
λόγου κρίσιν, οὐχὶ τοῦ τῆ πόλει συμφέροντος  
ἔσεσθαι.

227 Εἶτα σοφίζεται, καὶ φησὶ προσήκειν ἧς μὲν  
οἴκοθεν ἦκετ' ἔχοντες δόξης περὶ ἡμῶν ἀμελήσαι,

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59. Εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν ἐξαίφνης ἀκούσασιν ἀπιστότερος προσ-  
πέπτωκεν ὁ τοιοῦτος λόγος, ἐκείνως τὴν ὑπόλοιπον ποιήσασθε  
ἀκρόασιν, ὡς περ ὅταν περὶ χρημάτων ἀηλωμένων διὰ πολλοῦ  
χρόνου κυθεζόμεθα ἐπὶ τοὺς λογισμούς. Ἐρχόμεθα δὴ πού ψευ-  
δεῖς οἴκοθεν ἐνίστε δόξας ἔχοντες κατὰ τῶν λογισμῶν· ἀλλ' ὅμως  
ἐπειδὴν ὁ λογισμὸς συγκεφαλαιωθῆ, οὐδεὶς ἡμῶν ἐστὶν οὕτω  
δύσκολος τὴν φύσιν, ὅστις οὐκ ἀπέρχεται τοῦθ' ὁμολογήσας καὶ  
ἐπινεύσας ἀληθὲς εἶναι ὅ τι ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ λογισμὸς αἰρῆ. 60. Οὕτω  
καὶ νῦν τὴν ἀκρόασιν ποιήσασθε. εἴ τινες ὑμῶν ἐκ τῶν ἔμπρο-  
σθεν χρόνων ἤκουσιν οἴκοθεν τοιαύτην ἔχοντες τὴν δόξαν, ὡς ἄρα  
ὁ Δημοσθένης οὐδὲν πώποτε εἶρηκεν ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου συστάς μετὰ  
Φιλοκράτους, — ὅστις οὕτω διάκειται, μήτ' ἀπογνώτω μηδὲν μήτε  
καταγνώτω πρὶν ἀκούσῃ· οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον.

ὡσπερ δ', ὅταν οἰόμενοι περιεῖναι χρήματά τω  
 λογίζησθε, ἂν καθαιρῶσιν αἱ ψῆφοι καὶ μηδὲν  
 περιῆ, συγχωρεῖτε, οὕτω καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ  
 λόγου φαινομένοις προσθέσθαι. θεάσασθε τοί-  
 νυν ὡς σαθρόν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐστὶ φύσει πᾶν ὃ τι ἂν  
 μὴ δικαίως ἢ πεπραγμένον. ἐκ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ <sup>228</sup>  
 σοφοῦ τούτου παραδείγματος ὠμολόγηκε νῦν γ'  
 ἡμᾶς ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωσμένους ἐμὲ μὲν λέγειν ὑπὲρ  
 τῆς πατρίδος, αὐτὸν δ' ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου· οὐ γὰρ  
 ἂν μεταπίθειν ὑμᾶς ἐζήτει μὴ τοιαύτης οὔσης  
 τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ὑπολήψεως περὶ ἑκατέρου. καὶ <sup>229</sup>  
 μὴν ὅτι γε οὐ δίκαια λέγει μεταθέσθαι ταύτην  
 τὴν δόξαν ἀξιῶν, ἐγὼ διδάξω ῥαδίως, οὐ τιθεὶς  
 ψήφους (οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων οὗτος  
 λογισμὸς) ἀλλ' ἀναμνησκῶν ἕκαστα ἐν βρα-  
 χέσι, λογισταῖς ἅμα καὶ μάρτυσι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν  
 ὑμῖν χρώμενος. ἢ γὰρ ἐμὴ πολιτεία, ἧς οὗτος  
 κατηγορεῖ, ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ Θηβαίου μετὰ Φιλίππου  
 συνεμβалеῖν εἰς τὴν χώραν, ὃ πάντες ᾤοντο, μεθ' <sup>230</sup>  
 ἡμῶν παραταξαμένους ἐκεῖνον κωλύειν ἐποίησεν,  
 ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ τὸν πόλεμον εἶναι ἑπτα-  
 κόσια στάδια ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τοῖς Βοιωτῶν  
 ὀρίοις γενέσθαι, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τοὺς ληστὰς ἡμᾶς  
 φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὴν  
 Ἀττικὴν ἐκ θαλάττης εἶναι πάντα τὸν πόλεμον,  
 ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἔχειν Φίλιππον,  
 λαβόντα Βυζάντιον, συμπολεμεῖν τοὺς Βυζαντίους

231 μεθ' ἡμῶν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον. ἄρα σοι ψήφοις ὅμοιος ὁ τῶν ἔργων λογισμὸς φαίνεται; ἢ δεῖν ἀντανελεῖν ταῦτα, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅπως τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον μνημονευθήσεται σκέψασθαι; καὶ οὐκέτι προστίθημι ὅτι τῆς μὲν ὠμότητος, ἣν ἐν οἷς καθάπαξ τινῶν κύριος κατέστη Φίλιππος ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, ἐτέροις πειραθῆναι συνέβη, τῆς δὲ φιλάνθρωπίας, ἣν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκεῖνος περιβαλλόμενος ἐπλάττετο, ὑμεῖς καλῶς ποιοῦντες τοὺς καρποὺς κεκόμισθε. ἀλλ' ἐὼ ταῦτα.

232 Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν ὀκνήσω, ὅτι ὁ τὸν ῥήτορα βουλόμενος δικαίως ἐξετάζειν καὶ μὴ συκοφαντεῖν οὐκ ἂν οἶα σὺ νῦν ἔλεγες, τοιαῦτα κατηγορεῖ, παραδείγματα πλάττων καὶ ῥήματα καὶ σχήματα μιμούμενος (πάνυ γὰρ παρὰ τοῦτο, οὐχ ὄρας; γέγονε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, εἰ τουτὶ τὸ ῥήμα ἀλλὰ μὴ τουτὶ διελέχθην ἐγώ, ἢ δευρὶ τὴν  
233 χεῖρα ἀλλὰ μὴ δευρὶ παρήνευκα), ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἂν ἐσκόπει, τίνας εἶχεν ἀφορμὰς ἢ πόλις καὶ τίνας δυνάμεις, ὅτ' εἰς τὰ πράγματ' εἰσῆειν, καὶ τίνας συνήγαγον αὐτῇ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐπιστὰς ἐγώ, καὶ πῶς εἶχε τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων. εἴτ' εἰ μὲν ἐλάττους ἐποίησα τὰς δυνάμεις, παρ' ἐμοὶ τὰ δίκημ' ἂν ἐδείκνυεν ὄν, εἰ δὲ πολλῶ μείζους, οὐκ ἂν ἐσυκοφάντει. ἐπειδὴ δὲ σὺ τοῦτο

πέφευγας, ἐγὼ ποιήσω· καὶ σκοπεῖτε εἰ δικαίως  
χρήσομαι τῷ λόγῳ.

Δύναμιν μὲν τοίνυν εἶχεν ἡ πόλις τοὺς νησιώ- 234  
τας, οὐχ ἅπαντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους·  
οὔτε γὰρ Χίος οὔτε Ῥόδος οὔτε Κέρκυρα μεθ'  
ἡμῶν ἦν· χρημάτων δὲ σύνταξιν εἰς πέντε καὶ  
τετταράκοντα τάλαντα, καὶ ταῦτ' ἦν προεξιλε-  
γμένα· ὀπλίτην δ', ἱππέα πλὴν τῶν οἰκείων οὐ  
δένα. ὁ δὲ πάντων καὶ φοβερώτατον καὶ μάλισθ'  
ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, οὔτοι παρεσκευάκεσαν τοὺς  
περιχώρους πάντας ἔχθρας ἢ φιλίας ἐγγυτέρω,  
Μεγαρεῖς, Θηβαῖους, Εὐβοέας. τὰ μὲν τῆς πό- 235  
λεως οὕτως ὑπῆρχεν ἔχοντα, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν ἔχοι  
παρὰ ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν ἄλλο οὐδέν· τὰ δὲ τοῦ Φιλίπ-  
που, πρὸς ὃν ἦν ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγών, σκέψασθε πῶς.  
πρῶτον μὲν ἦρχε τῶν ἀκολουθούντων αὐτὸς αὐτο-  
κράτωρ, ὁ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον μέγιστόν ἐστιν  
ἀπάντων· εἶθ' οὔτοι τὰ ὄπλα εἶχον ἐν ταῖς χερ-  
σὶν αἰεὶ· ἔπειτα χρημάτων εὐπόρει, καὶ ἔπραττεν  
ἂ δόξειεν αὐτῷ, οὐ προλέγων ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν,  
οὐδ' ἐν τῷ φανερωῷ βουλευόμενος, οὐδὲ γραφὰς  
φεύγων παρανόμων, οὐδ' ὑπεύθυνος ὢν οὐδενί,  
ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς αὐτὸς δεσπότης, ἡγεμών, κύριος  
πάντων. ἐγὼ δ' ὁ πρὸς τοῦτον ἀντιτεταγμένος 236  
(καὶ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐξετάσαι δίκαιον) τίνος κύριος ἦν ;  
οὐδενός· αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ δημηγορεῖν πρῶτον, οὐ  
μόνου μετεῖχον ἐγώ, ἐξ ἴσου προὔτιθεθ' ὑμεῖς



τοῖς παρ' ἐκείνου μισθαρνοῦσι καὶ ἐμοί, καὶ ὅσα  
 οὗτοι περιγένοιτο ἐμοῦ (πολλὰ δ' ἐγίγνετο ταῦ-  
 τα, δι' ἣν ἕκαστον τύχοι πρόφασιν), ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ  
 237 τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπῆτε βεβουλευμένοι. ἀλλ' ὁμως  
 ἐκ τοιούτων ἐλαττωμάτων ἐγὼ συμμάχους μὲν  
 ὑμῖν ἐποίησα Εὐβοέας, Ἀχαιοὺς, Κορινθίους, Θη-  
 βαίους, Μεγαρέας, Λευκαδίους, Κερκυραίους, ἀφ'  
 ὧν μύριοι μὲν καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι ξένοι, δισχίλιοι  
 δ' ἵππεῖς ἄνευ τῶν πολιτικῶν δυνάμεων συνήχθη-  
 σαν· χρημάτων δέ, ὅσων ἠδυνήθην ἐγώ, πλεί-  
 238 στην συντέλειαν ἐποίησα. εἰ δὲ λέγεις ἢ τὰ  
 πρὸς Θηβαίους δίκαια, Αἰσχίνη, ἢ τὰ πρὸς Βυ-  
 ζαντίους ἢ τὰ πρὸς Εὐβοέας, ἢ περὶ τῶν ἴσων  
 νυνὶ διαλέγῃ, πρῶτον μὲν ἀγνοεῖς ὅτι καὶ πρό-  
 τερον τῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκείνων ἀγωνισα-  
 μένων τριήρων, τριακοσίων οὐσῶν τῶν πασῶν,  
 τὰς διακοσίας ἢ πόλις παρέσχετο, καὶ οὐκ ἐλατ-  
 τοῦσθαι νομίζουσα οὐδὲ κρίνουσα τοὺς ταῦτα  
 συμβουλευσάντας οὐδὲ ἀγανακτοῦσα ἐπὶ τούτοις  
 ἔωρᾶτο (αἰσχρὸν γάρ), ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἔχουσα  
 χάριν, εἰ κοινοῦ κινδύνου τοῖς Ἑλλησι περιστάν-  
 τος αὐτῇ διπλάσια τῶν ἄλλων εἰς τὴν ἀπάντων  
 239 σωτηρίαν παρέσχετο. εἶτα κενὰς χαρίζῃ χάριτας  
 τουτοισὶ συκοφαντῶν ἐμέ. τί γὰρ νῦν λέγεις οἷα  
 ἐχρῆν πράττειν, ἀλλ' οὐ τότε ὧν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ  
 παρῶν ταῦτ' ἔγραφες, εἴ περ ἐνεδέχετο παρὰ τοὺς  
 παρόντας καιροὺς, ἐν οἷς οὐχ ὅσα ἠβουλόμεθα

ἀλλ' ὅσα δοίη τὰ πράγματ' ἔδει δέχεσθαι· ὁ γὰρ ἀντωνούμενος καὶ ταχὺ τοὺς παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπελαυνόμενους προσδεξόμενος καὶ χρήματα προσθήσων ὑπῆρχεν ἔτοιμος.

Ἄλλ' εἰ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις κατηγορίας 240 ἔχω, τί ἂν οἴεσθε, εἰ τότ' ἐμοῦ περὶ τούτων ἀκριβολογουμένου ἀπῆλθον αἱ πόλεις καὶ προσέθεντο Φιλίππῳ, καὶ ἅμα Εὐβοίας καὶ Θηβῶν καὶ Βυζαντίου κύριος κατέστη, τί ποιεῖν ἂν ἢ τί λέγειν τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς ἀνθρώπους τουτουσί; οὐχ ὡς ἐξεδόθη- 241 σαν, ἀπηλάθησαν, βουλόμενοι μεθ' ἡμῶν εἶναι; εἶτα τοῦ μὲν Ἑλλησπόντου διὰ Βυζαντίων ἐγκρατῆς καθέστηκε, καὶ τῆς σιτοπομπίας τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων κύριος, πόλεμος δ' ὁμορος καὶ βαρὺς εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν διὰ Θηβαίων κεκόμισται, ἄπλους δ' ἢ θάλαττα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὀρμωμένων ληστῶν γέγονεν; οὐκ ἂν ταῦτ' ἔλεγον, καὶ πολλὰ γε πρὸς τούτοις ἕτερα; πονηρόν, ὧ ἄνδρες 242 Ἀθηναῖοι, πονηρόν ὁ συκοφάντης αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχόθεν βάσκανον καὶ φιλαίτιον· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ φύσει κίναδος τὰνθρώπιόν ἐστιν, οὐδὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑγιὲς πεποιηκὸς οὐδ' ἐλεύθερον, αὐτοτραγικὸς πίθηκος, ἀρουραῖος Οἰνόμαος, παράσημος ρήτωρ. τί γὰρ ἢ σὴ δεινότης εἰς ὄνησιν ἤκει πατρίδι; νῦν ἡμῖν λέγεις περὶ τῶν παρεληλυθόντων; ὥσπερ 243 ἂν εἴ τις ἰατρὸς ἀσθενούσι μὲν τοῖς κάμνουσιν εἰσιῶν μὴ λέγοι μηδὲ δεικνύοι δι' ὧν ἀποφεύξον

ται τὴν νόσον, ἐπειδὴ δὲ τελευτήσειέ τις αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα αὐτῷ φέροιτο, ἀκολουθῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μνήμα διεξίει “ εἰ τὸ καὶ τὸ ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπος οὐτοσί, οὐκ ἂν ἀπέθανεν.” ἐμβρόντητε, εἶτα νῦν λέγεις ;

- 244 Οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τὴν ἤτταν, εἰ ταύτη γαυριᾶς ἐφ’ ἧ στένειν σε, ὧ κατάρατε, προσῆκεν, ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν παρ’ ἐμοὶ γεγонуῖαν εὐρήσετε τῇ πόλει. οὕτωςι δὲ λογίζεσθε. οὐδαμοῦ πρόποθ’, ὅποι πρεσβευτῆς ἐπέμφθην ὑφ’ ὑμῶν ἐγώ, ἤττηθεις ἀπῆλθον τῶν παρὰ Φιλίππου πρέσβεων, οὐκ ἐκ Θετταλίας, οὐκ ἐξ Ἀμβρακίας, οὐκ ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν, οὐ παρὰ τῶν Θρακῶν βασιλέων, οὐκ ἐκ Βυζαντίου, οὐκ ἄλλοθεν οὐδαμόθεν, οὐ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐκ Θηβῶν, ἀλλ’ ἐν οἷς κρατηθεῖεν οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτοῦ τῷ λόγῳ, ταῦτα τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐπιὼν κατε-  
245 στρέφετο. ταῦτ’ οὖν ἀπαιτεῖς παρ’ ἐμοῦ, καὶ οὐκ αἰσχύνει τὸν αὐτὸν εἰς τε μαλακίαν σκώπτων καὶ τῆς Φιλίππου δυνάμεως ἀξιῶν ἕνα ὄντα κρείττω γενέσθαι ; καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς λόγοις ; τίνος γὰρ ἄλλου κύριος ἦν ἐγώ ; οὐ γὰρ τῆς γε ἐκάστου

225. Ἐπειτα ἐπερωτᾶν με, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, μέλλει, τίς ἂν εἶη τοιοῦτος ἰατρός, ὅστις τῷ νοσοῦντι μεταξύ μὲν ἀσθενοῦντι μηδὲν συμβουλεύει, τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὰ ἕνα τα διεξίει πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους, ἃ ἐπιτηδεύσας ὑγιῆς ἂν ἐγένετο.  
226. σπαντὸν δ’ οὐκ ἀντερωτᾶς, τίς ἂν εἶη δημαγωγὸς τοιοῦτος, ὅστις τὸν μὲν δῆμον θωπεῦσαι δύναται, τοὺς δὲ καιρούς, ἐν οἷς ἦν σώζεσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ἀποδοῖτο.

ψυχῆς, οὐδὲ τῆς τύχης τῶν παραταξαμένων, οὐδὲ  
 τῆς στρατηγίας, ἧς ἔμ' ἀπαιτεῖς εὐθύνas· οὕτω  
 σκαιὸς εἶ. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὧν γ' ἂν ὁ ῥήτωρ ὑπεύθυνος 246  
 εἶη, πᾶσαν ἐξέτασιν λαμβάνετε· οὐ παραιτοῦμαι.  
 τίνα οὖν ἐστὶ ταῦτα; ἰδεῖν τὰ πράγματα ἀρχό-  
 μενα καὶ προαισθῆσθαι καὶ προειπεῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις.  
 ταῦτα πέπρακταί μοι. καὶ ἔτι τὰς ἐκασταχοῦ  
 βραδυτῆτας ὄκνους ἀγνοίας φιλονεικίας, ἃ πολιτι-  
 κὰ ταῖς πόλεσι πρόσεστιν ἀπάσαις καὶ ἀναγκαῖα  
 ἁμαρτήματα, ταῦθ' ὡς εἰς ἐλάχιστα συστεῖλαι,  
 καὶ τούναντίον εἰς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ φιλίαν καὶ τοῦ τὰ  
 δέοντα ποιεῖν ὁρμὴν προτρέψαι. καὶ ταῦτά μοι  
 πάντα πεποιήται, καὶ οὐδεὶς μὴ ποθ' εὔρη κατ'  
 ἐμὲ οὐδὲν ἐλλειφθέν. εἰ τοίνυν τις ἔροιτο ὄντι- 247  
 νοῦν, τίσι τὰ πλείστα Φίλιππος ὧν κατέπραξε  
 διωκῆσατο, πάντες ἂν εἴποιεν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ  
 τῷ διδόναι καὶ διαφθείρειν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμά-  
 των. οὐκοῦν τῶν μὲν δυνάμεων οὔτε κύριος οὔθ'  
 ἡγεμὼν ἦν ἐγώ, ὥστε οὐδ' ὁ λόγος τῶν κατὰ ταῦ-  
 τα πραχθέντων πρὸς ἐμέ. καὶ μὴν τῷ διαφθαρῆ-  
 ναι χρήμασιν ἢ μὴ κεκράτηκα Φιλίππου· ὥσπερ

152. ἐτόλμησε τοῖς δραπέταις ποσὶ καὶ λελοιπόσι τὴν τάξιν  
 ἀναβᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον τῶν τετελευτηκότων ἐγκωμιάζειν τὴν ἐκεί-  
 νων ἀρετὴν. 155. ὅτι τόνδε τὸν ἄνδρα, εἰ δὴ καὶ οὗτος ἀνὴρ,  
 στεφανοῖ ὁ δῆμος τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα τὸν κάκιστον  
 καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἕνεκα τὸν ἀνανδρον καὶ λελοιπότα τὴν τάξιν.  
 159. ὅτι Δημοσθένης οὐ τὴν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου μόνον τάξιν ἔλι-  
 πεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.

γὰρ ὁ ὠνούμενος νενίκηκε τὸν λαβόντα, ἐὰν πρή-  
ται, οὕτως ὁ μὴ λαβὼν καὶ διαφθαρεὶς νενίκηκε  
τὸν ὠνούμενον. ὥστε ἀήττητος ἡ πόλις τὸ κατ'  
ἐμέ.

- 248 Ἄ μὲν τοίνυν ἐγὼ παρεσχόμεν εἰς τὸ δικαίως  
τοιαῦτα γράφειν τοῦτον περὶ ἐμοῦ, πρὸς πολλοῖς  
έτέροις ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις ἐστίν, ἃ  
δ' οἱ πάντες ὑμεῖς, ταῦτ' ἤδη λέξω. μετὰ γὰρ  
τὴν μάχην εὐθύς ὁ δῆμος, εἰδὼς καὶ ἑωρακὼς  
πάντα ὅσα ἔπραττον ἐγώ, ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς δεινοῖς  
καὶ φοβεροῖς ἐμβεβηκῶς, ἠνίκ' οὐδ' ἀγνωμονῆσαι  
τι θαυμαστὸν ἦν τοὺς πολλοὺς πρὸς ἐμέ, πρῶτον  
μὲν περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως τὰς ἐμὰς γνώμας  
ἐχειροτόνει, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα τῆς φυλακῆς ἔνεκα  
ἐπράττετο, ἢ διάταξις τῶν φυλάκων, αἱ τάφροι,  
τὰ εἰς τὰ τείχη χρήματα, διὰ τῶν ἐμῶν ψηφισμά-  
των ἐγίγνετο. ἔπειθ' αἰρούμενος σιτώνην ἐκ πάν-  
249 των ἐμὲ ἐχειροτόνησεν ὁ δῆμος. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα  
συστάντων οἷς ἦν ἐπιμελὲς κακῶς ἐμὲ ποιεῖν, καὶ  
γραφὰς εὐθύνας εἰσαγγελίας πάντα ταῦτ' ἐπα-  
γόντων μοι, οὐ δι' ἑαυτῶν τό γε πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ δι'  
ᾧν μάλισθ' ὑπελάμβανον ἀγνοήσεσθαι (ἴστε γὰρ  
δήπου καὶ μέμνησθε ὅτι τοὺς πρώτους χρόνους  
κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἐκρινόμεν ἐγώ, καὶ  
οὐτ' ἀπόνοια Σωσικλέους οὔτε συκοφαντία Φιλο-  
κράτους οὔτε Διώνδου καὶ Μελάντου μανία οὐτ'  
ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἀπείρατον ἦν τούτοις κατ' ἐμοῦ), ἐν



τοίνυν τούτοις πᾶσι μάλιστα μὲν διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, δεύτερον δὲ δι' ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀθηναίους ἐσωζόμεν. δικαίως· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἀληθές ἐστι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁμωμοκότων καὶ γνόντων τὰ εὖορκα δικαστῶν. οὐκοῦν ἐν μὲν οἷς εἰσηγγελλόμεν, ὅτ' 250 ἀπεψηφίζεσθέ μου καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων τοῖς διώκουσιν οὐ μετεδίδοτε, τότε ἔψηφίζεσθε τὰ ἄριστα με πράττειν· ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς γραφὰς ἀπέφενγον, ἔνομα καὶ γράφειν καὶ λέγειν ἀπεδεικνύμεν· ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς εὐθύνας ἐπεσημαίνεσθε, δικαίως καὶ ἀδωροδοκῆτως πάντα πεπραχθαί μοι προσωμολογεῖτε. τούτων οὖν οὕτως ἐχόντων τί προσῆκον ἢ τί δίκαιον ἦν τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πεπραγμένοις θέσθαι τὸν Κτησιφῶντα ὄνομα, οὐχ ὁ τὸν δῆμον ἐώρα τιθέμενον, οὐχ ὁ τοὺς ὁμωμοκότας δικαστάς, οὐχ ὁ τὴν ἀλήθειαν παρὰ πᾶσι βεβαιούσαν;

Ναί, φησίν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλόν, τὸ 251 μηδεμίαν γραφὴν φεύγειν. καὶ νῆ Δί' εὐδαιμόν γε. ἀλλὰ τί μᾶλλον ὁ πολλάκις μὲν φυγῶν μηδεπώποτε δ' ἐξελεγχθεὶς ἀδικῶν ἐν ἐγκλήματι γίγνοιτ' ἂν διὰ τοῦτο δικαίως; καίτοι πρὸς γε τοῦ-

194. Ἐπόημα δ' ἐν ὑμῖν ποτε σεμνύνεσθαι Ἀριστοφῶν ἐκείνος ὁ Ἀζημιεὺς λέγων, ὅτι γραφὰς παρανόμων πέφευγεν ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε. ἀλλ' οὐχὶ ὁ Κέφαλος ὁ παλαιὸς ἐκείνος, ὁ δοκῶν δημοτικώτατος γεγονέναι, οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐφιλοτιμείτο, λέγων, ὅτι πλείστα πάντων γεγραφῶς ψηφίσματα οὐδεμίαν πώποτε γραφὴν πέφευγε παρανόμων, καλῶς, οἶμαι, σεμννόμενος.

τον, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλὸν εἰπεῖν ἔστι μοι· οὐδεμίαν γὰρ πώποτ' ἐγράψατό με οὐδ' ἐδίωξε γραφήν, ὥστε ὑπὸ σοῦ γε ὁμολογημαὶ μηδὲν εἶναι τοῦ Κεφάλου χείρων πολίτης.

- 252 Πανταχόθεν μὲν τοίνυν ἂν τις ἴδοι τὴν ἀγνωμοσύνην αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν βασκανίαν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δ' ἀφ' ὧν περὶ τῆς τύχης διελέχθη. ἐγὼ δ' ὅλως μὲν, ὅστις ἄνθρωπος ὧν ἀνθρώπῳ τύχην προφέρει, ἀνόητον ἡγοῦμαι· ἦν γὰρ ὁ βέλτιστα πράττειν νομίζων καὶ ἀρίστην ἔχειν οἰόμενος οὐκ οἶδεν, εἰ μενεῖ τοιαύτη μέχρι τῆς ἐσπέρας, πῶς χρὴ περὶ ταύτης λέγειν ἢ πῶς ὀνειδίζειν ἑτέρῳ; ἐπειδὴ δ' οὗτος πρὸς πολλοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ περὶ τούτων ὑπερηφάνως χρῆται τῷ λόγῳ, σκέψασθ', ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ θεωρήσατε ὅσῳ καὶ ἀληθέστερον καὶ ἀνθρωπινώτερον ἐγὼ περὶ τῆς τύχης
- 253 τούτου διαλεχθήσομαι. ἐγὼ τὴν τῆς πόλεως τύχην ἀγαθὴν ἡγοῦμαι, καὶ ταῦθ' ὄρω καὶ τὸν Δία τὸν Δωδωναῖον ὑμῖν μαντευόμενον, τὴν μέντοι τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἣ νῦν ἐπέχει, χαλεπὴν καὶ δεινὴν· τίς γὰρ Ἑλλήνων ἢ τίς βαρβάρων οὐ
- 254 πολλῶν κακῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι πεπεύραται; τὸ μὲν τοίνυν προελέσθαι τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ τὸ τῶν οἰηθέντων Ἑλλήνων, εἰ πρόοιντο ἡμᾶς, ἐν εὐδαιμονία διάξειν, αὐτῶν ἄμεινον πράττειν τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης τῆς πόλεως εἶναι τίθημι· τὸ δὲ προσκροῦσαι καὶ μὴ πάνθ' ὡς ἡβουλόμεθ' ἡμῖν

συμβῆναι τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων τύχης τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς μέρος μετεκληφέναι νομίζω τὴν πόλιν. τὴν δ' ἰδίαν τύχην τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ τὴν 255 ἐνὸς ἡμῶν ἐκάστου ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐξετάζειν δίκαιον εἶναι νομίζω. ἐγὼ μὲν οὕτωςι περὶ τῆς τύχης ἀξιῶ, ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως, ὡς ἐμαυτῷ δοκῶ, νομίζω δὲ καὶ ὑμῶν· ὁ δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν τύχην τὴν ἐμὴν τῆς κοινῆς τῆς πόλεως κυριωτέραν εἶναι φησι, τὴν μικρὰν καὶ φαύλην τῆς ἀγαθῆς καὶ μεγάλης. καὶ πῶς ἔνι τοῦτο γενέσθαι;

Καὶ μὴν εἴ γε τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην πάντως ἐξετά- 256 ζειν, Αἰσχίνη, προαιρεῖ, πρὸς τὴν σαντοῦ σκόπει, καὶ εὐρῆς τὴν ἐμὴν βελτίω τῆς σῆς, παῦσαι λοιδορούμενος αὐτῇ. σκόπει τοίνυν εὐθύς ἐξ ἀρχῆς. καί μου πρὸς Διὸς μηδεμίαν ψυχρότητα καταγνώμηδεις. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐτ' εἴ τις πενίαν προπηλακίζει, νοῦν ἔχειν ἠγοῦμαι, οὐτ' εἴ τις ἐν ἀφθόνοις τραφεῖς ἐπὶ τούτῳ σεμνύνεται· ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς τουτουὶ τοῦ χαλεποῦ βλασφημίας καὶ συκοφαντίας εἰς τοιούτους λόγους ἐμπίπτειν ἀναγκάζομαι, οἷς ἐκ τῶν ἐνότων ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι μετριώτατα χρῆσομαι.

Ἐμοὶ μὲν τοίνυν ὑπῆρξεν, Αἰσχίνη, παιδὶ τὰ 257 προσήκοντα διδασκαλεῖα, καὶ ἔχειν ὅσα χρὴ τὸν μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ποιήσοντα δι' ἔνδειαν, ἐξελθόντι δὲ ἐκ παίδων ἀκόλουθα τούτοις πράττειν, χορηγεῖν, τριηραρχεῖν, εἰσφέρειν, μηδεμιᾶς φιλοτιμίας

μήτε ιδίας μήτε δημοσίας ἀπολείπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς φίλοις χρήσιμον εἶναι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσελθεῖν ἔδοξέ μοι, τοιαῦτα πολιτεύματα ἐλέσθαι ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων πολλῶν πολλάκις ἐστεφανῶσθαι, καὶ μηδὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμᾶς, ὡς οὐ καλὰ γ' ἦν ἂ προειλόμην, ἐπιχειρεῖν λέγειν.

258 ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τοιαύτη συμβεβίωκα τύχη, καὶ πόλλ' ἂν ἔχων ἕτερόν εἶπειν περὶ αὐτῆς παραλείπω, φυλαττόμενος τὸ λυπηῆσαί τινα ἐν οἷς σεμνύνομαι. σὺ δ' ὁ σεμννόμενος ἀνὴρ καὶ διαπτύων τοὺς ἄλλους σκόπει πρὸς ταύτην ποία τινὶ κέχρησαι τύχη, δι' ἣν παῖς μὲν ὦν μετὰ πολλῆς ἐνδείας ἐτράφη, ἅμα τῷ πατρὶ πρὸς τῷ διδασκαλείῳ προσεδρεύων, τὸ μέλαν τρίβων καὶ τὰ βάρη σπογγίζων καὶ τὸ παιδαγωγεῖον κορῶν, οἰκέτου

259 τάξιν, οὐκ ἐλευθέρου παιδὸς ἔχων, ἀνὴρ δὲ γενόμενος τῇ μητρὶ τελούσῃ τὰς βίβλους ἀνεγίγνωσκες καὶ τἄλλα συνεσκευωροῦ, τὴν μὲν νύκτα νεβρίζων καὶ κρατηρίζων καὶ καθαίρων τοὺς τελουμένους καὶ ἀπομάττων τῷ πηλῷ καὶ τοῖς πιτύροις καὶ ἀνιστὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ καθαρμοῦ κελεύων λέγειν “ἔφυγον κακόν, εὔρον ἄμεινον,” ἐπὶ τῷ μηδένα πρόποτε τηλικούτ' ὀλολύξαι σεμννόμενος

260 (καὶ ἔγωγε νομίζω· μὴ γὰρ οἴεσθ' αὐτὸν φθέγγεσθαι μὲν οὕτω μέγα, ὀλολύξειν δ' οὐχ ὑπέρλαμπρον), ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις τοὺς καλοὺς θιάσους



ἄγων διὰ τῶν ὁδῶν, τοὺς ἐστεφανωμένους τῷ  
 μαράθῳ καὶ τῇ λεύκῃ, τοὺς ὄφεις τοὺς παρείας  
 θλίβων καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς αἰωρῶν, καὶ βοῶν  
 εὐοῖ σαβοῖ, καὶ ἐπορχούμενος ὕψους ἄττης ἄττης  
 ὕψους, ἔξαρχος καὶ προηγεμῶν καὶ κιττοφόρος καὶ  
 λικνοφόρος καὶ τοιαῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν γραδίων προσα-  
 γορευόμενος, μισθὸν λαμβάνων τούτων ἐνθρυπτα  
 καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ νεήλατα, ἐφ' οἷς τίς οὐκ ἂν ὡς  
 ἀληθῶς αὐτὸν εὐδαιμονίσειε καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τύ-  
 χην; ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰς τοὺς δημότας ἐνεγράφησ' ὅπως- 261  
 δήποτε, ἐὼ γὰρ τοῦτο, ἐπειδὴ γ' ἐνεγράφησ',  
 εὐθέως τὸ κάλλιστον ἐξελέξω τῶν ἔργων, γραμ-  
 ματεύειν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν τοῖς ἀρχιδίοις. ὡς δ'  
 ἀπηλλάγης ποτὲ καὶ τούτου, πάνθ' ἅ τῶν ἄλλων  
 κατηγορεῖς αὐτὸς ποιήσας, οὐ κατήσχυνας μὰ  
 Δί' οὐδὲν τῶν προὔπηργμένων τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα  
 βίῳ, ἀλλὰ μισθῶσας σταντὸν τοῖς βαρυστόνοις 262  
 ἐπικαλουμένοις ἐκείνοις ὑποκριταῖς, Σιμύλῳ καὶ  
 Σωκράτει, ἐτριταγωνίστεις, σῦκα καὶ βότρυς καὶ  
 ἐλάας συλλέγων ὥσπερ ὀπωρώνης ἐκ τῶν ἄλλο-  
 τρίων χωρίων, πλείω λαμβάνων ἀπὸ τούτων ἢ  
 τῶν ἀγώνων, οὓς ὑμεῖς περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἠγωνί-  
 ζεσθε· ἦν γὰρ ἄσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος ὑμῖν  
 πρὸς τοὺς θεατὰς πόλεμος, ὑφ' ὧν πολλὰ τραύ-  
 ματ' εἰληφῶς εἰκότως τοὺς ἀπείρους τῶν τοιούτων  
 κινδύνων ὡς δειλοὺς σκώπτεις. ἀλλὰ γὰρ πα- 263  
 ρεῖς ὧν τὴν πενίαν αἰτιάσαιτ' ἂν τις, πρὸς αὐτὰ



τὰ τοῦ τρόπου σου βαδιοῦμαι κατηγορήματα.  
 τοιαύτην γὰρ εἴλου πολιτείαν, ἐπειδὴ ποτε καὶ  
 τοῦτ' ἐπῆλθέ σοι ποιῆσαι, δι' ἣν εὐτυχούσης μὲν  
 τῆς πατρίδος λαγῶ βίον ἔζησθε δεδιῶς καὶ τρέμων  
 καὶ ἀεὶ πληγῆσεσθαι προσδοκῶν ἐφ' οἷς σταντῶ·  
 264 στυγερῶς ἀδικοῦντι, ἐν οἷς δ' ἠτύχησαν οἱ ἄλλοι,  
 θρασὺς ὢν ὑφ' ἀπάντων ὦψαι. καίτοι ὅστις χι-  
 λίων πολιτῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐθάρρησε, τί οὗτος  
 παθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ζώντων δίκαιός ἐστιν; πολλὰ  
 τοίνυν ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν ἔχων περὶ αὐτοῦ παραλείψω·  
 οὐ γὰρ ὅσ' ἂν δείξαιμι προσόντ' αἰσχροῦ τούτου  
 καὶ ὀνειδίη, πάντ' οἶμαι δεῖν εὐχερῶς λέγειν ἀλλ'  
 ὅσα μηδὲν αἰσχρόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν ἐμοί.

265 Ἐξέτασον τοίνυν παρ' ἄλληλα τὰ σοὶ κάμοι  
 βεβιωμένα, πρῶως, μὴ πικρῶς, Αἰσχίνη· εἴτ'  
 ἐρώτησον τουτουσὶ τὴν ποτέρου τύχην ἂν ἔλοιθ'  
 ἕκαστος αὐτῶν. ἐδίδασκες γράμματα, ἐγὼ δ'  
 ἐφοίτων. ἐτέλεις, ἐγὼ δ' ἐτελούμην. ἐγραμμά-  
 τευες, ἐγὼ δ' ἠκκλησιάζον. ἐτριταγωνίστεις,  
 ἐγὼ δ' ἐθεώρουν. ἐξέπιπτες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐσύριττον.  
 ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πεπολίτευσαι πάντα, ἐγὼ δ'  
 266 ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. ἐὼ τᾶλλα, ἀλλὰ νυνὶ τήμε-  
 ρον ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ στεφανωθῆναι δοκιμά-  
 ζομαι, τὸ δὲ μηδ' ὀτιοῦν ἀδικεῖν ἀνωμολόγημαι,  
 σοὶ δὲ συκοφάντη μὲν εἶναι δοκεῖν ὑπάρχει, κιν-  
 δυνεύεις δὲ εἴτε δεῖ σ' ἔτι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, εἴτ' ἤδη  
 πεπαῦσθαι μὴ μεταλαβόντα τὸ πέμπτον μέρος

τῶν ψήφων. ἀγαθῇ γε, οὐχ ὀρᾶς; τύχη συμβεβιωκῶς τῆς ἐμῆς κατηγορεῖς.

Φέρε δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν λειτουργιῶν μαρτυρίας, 267  
ὧν λελειτούργηκα, ὑμῖν ἀναγνῶ· παρ' ἃς παρανάγνωθι καὶ σύ μοι τὰς ῥήσεις ἃς ἐλυμαίνου,

ἤκω νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότου πύλας

καὶ

κακαγγελεῖν μὲν ἴσθι μὴ θέλοντά με,

καὶ κακὸν κακῶς σε μάλιστα μὲν οἱ θεοί, ἔπειτα οὗτοι πάντες ἀπολέσειαν, πονηρὸν ὄντα καὶ πολίτην καὶ τριταγωνιστήν.

Λέγε τὰς μαρτυρίας.

#### ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑΙ.

Ἐν μὲν τοίνυν τοῖς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τοιοῦτος· 268  
ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἰδίοις εἰ μὴ πάντες ἴστε ὅτι κοινὸς καὶ φιλόανθρωπος καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπαρκῶν, σιωπῶ καὶ οὐδὲν ἂν εἴποιμι οὐδὲ παρασχοίμην περὶ τούτων οὐδεμίαν μαρτυρίαν, οὐτ' εἴ τινας ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλυσάμην, οὐτ' εἴ τισι θυγατέρας συνεξέδωκα, οὐτε τῶν τοιούτων οὐδέν. καὶ γὰρ οὕτω πως ὑπείληφα. ἐγὼ νομίζω τὸν μὲν εἶ παθόντα 269  
δεῖν μεμνήσθαι πάντα τὸν χρόνον, τὸν δὲ ποιήσαντα εὐθὺς ἐπιλελήσθαι, εἰ δεῖ τὸν μὲν χρηστοῦ τὸν δὲ μὴ μικροψύχου ποιεῖν ἔργον ἀνθρώπου. τὸ δὲ τὰς ἰδίας εὐεργεσίας ὑπομιμνήσκειν καὶ λέγειν μικροῦ δεῖν ὁμοίον ἐστι τῷ ὄνειδιζεῖν. οὐ

δὴ ποιήσω τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, οὐδὲ προαχθήσομαι, ἀλλ' ὅπως ποθ' ὑπέιλημμαι περὶ τούτων, ἀρκεί μοι.

- 270 Βούλομαι δὲ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπαλλαγεῖς ἔτι μικρὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν κοινῶν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἔχεις, Ἀισχίνη, τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν ἥλιον εἰπεῖν ἀνθρώπων ὅστις ἀθῶος τῆς Φιλίππου πρότερον καὶ νῦν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου δυναστείας γέγονεν, ἢ
- 271 τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἢ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἔστω, συγχωρῶ σοι τὴν ἐμὴν εἴτε τύχην εἴτε δυστυχίαν ὀνομάζειν βούλει πάντων αἰτίαν γεγενῆσθαι. εἰ δὲ καὶ τῶν μηδεπώποτ' ἰδόντων ἐμὲ μηδὲ φωνὴν ἀκηκοότων ἐμοῦ πολλοὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πεπόνθασιν, μὴ μόνον κατ' ἄνδρα ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις ὅλαι καὶ ἔθνη, πόσω δικαιότερον καὶ ἀληθέστερον τὴν ἀπάντων, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀνθρώπων τύχην κοινὴν καὶ φορὰν τινα πραγμάτων χαλεπὴν καὶ οὐχ οἶαν
- 272 ἔδει τούτων αἰτίαν ἡγεῖσθαι; σὺ τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἀφεῖς ἐμὲ τὸν παρὰ τουτοισὶ πεπολιτευμένον αἰτιᾶ, καὶ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς ὅτι, καὶ εἰ μὴ τὸ ὅλον, μέρος γ' ἐπιβάλλει τῆς βλασφημίας ἅπασιν, καὶ μάλιστα σοί. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ κατ' ἐμαντὸν αὐτοκράτωρ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐβουλευόμην, ἦν ἂν
- 273 τοῖς ἄλλοις ῥήτορσιν ὑμῖν ἐμὲ αἰτιᾶσθαι. εἰ δὲ παρῆτε μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀπάσαις, ἀεὶ δ' ἐν κοινῶ τὸ συμφέρον ἢ πόλις προϋτίθει σκοπεῖν, πᾶσιν δὲ ταῦτ' ἐδόκει τότε ἄριστ' εἶναι, καὶ μάλι-

στα σοί (οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' εὐνοία γ' ἐμοὶ παρεχώρεις ἐλπίδων καὶ ζήλου καὶ τιμῶν, ἅ πάντα προσῆν τοῖς τότε πραττομένοις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἠττώμενος δηλονότι καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν βέλτιον), πῶς οὐκ ἀδικεῖς καὶ δεινὰ ποιεῖς τούτοις νῦν ἐγκαλῶν, ὧν τὸτ' οὐκ εἶχες λέγειν βελτίω; παρὰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔγωγ' ὁρῶ 274 πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις διωρισμένα καὶ τεταγμένα πως τὰ τοιαῦτα. ἀδικεῖ τις ἐκῶν; ὀργὴν καὶ τιμωρίαν κατὰ τούτου. ἐξήμαρτέ τις ἄκων; συγγνώμην ἀντὶ τῆς τιμωρίας τούτῳ. οὐτ' ἀδικῶν τις οὐτ' ἐξαμαρτάνων, εἰς τὰ πᾶσι δοκοῦντα συμφέρειν ἑαυτὸν δούς οὐ κατώρθωσε μεθ' ἀπάντων; οὐκ ὄνειδίζειν οὐδὲ λοιδορεῖσθαι τῷ τοιούτῳ δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ συνάχθασθαι. φανήσεται ταῦτα 275 πάντα οὕτως οὐ μόνον τοῖς νόμοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ φύσις αὐτῆ τοῖς ἀγράφοις νομίμοις καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις ἤθεσι διώρικεν. Δισχίνης τοίνυν τοσοῦτον ὑπερβέβληκεν ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους ὁμότητι καὶ συκοφαντία ὥστε καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ὡς ἀτυχημάτων ἐμέμνητο, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖ.

Καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἀπλῶς καὶ 276 μετ' εὐνοίας πάντας εἰρηκῶς τοὺς λόγους, φυλάττειν ἐμὲ καὶ τηρεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ὅπως μὴ παρακρούσομαι μηδ' ἐξαπατήσω, δεινὸν καὶ γόητα καὶ σοφιστὴν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτ' ὀνομάζων, ὡς εἶν πρότερός τις εἶπη τὰ προσόνθ' ἑαυτῷ περὶ ἄλλου

καὶ δὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχοντα, καὶ οὐκέτι τοὺς ἀκούον-  
 τας σκεψομένους τίς ποτ' αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ταῦτα  
 λέγων. ἐγὼ δ' οἶδ' ὅτι γιγνώσκετε τοῦτον ἅπαν-  
 τες, καὶ πολὺ τούτῳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμοὶ νομίζετε  
 277 ταῦτα προσεῖναι. κακὲῖνο εὖ οἶδ', ὅτι τὴν ἐμὴν  
 δεινότητα — ἔστω γάρ. καίτοι ἐγωγ' ὄρω τῆς  
 τῶν λεγόντων δυνάμεως τοὺς ἀκούοντας τὸ πλεί-  
 στον κυρίου· ὡς γὰρ ἂν ὑμεῖς ἀποδέξησθε καὶ  
 πρὸς ἕκαστον ἔχητ' εὐνοίας, οὕτως ὁ λέγων ἔδοξε  
 φρονεῖν. εἰ δ' οὖν ἐστι καὶ παρ' ἐμοί τις ἐμ-  
 πειρία τοιαύτη, ταύτην μὲν εὐρήσετε πάντες ἐν  
 τοῖς κοινοῖς ἐξεταζομένην ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀεὶ καὶ  
 οὐδαμοῦ καθ' ὑμῶν οὐδ' ἰδίᾳ, τὴν δὲ τούτου  
 τούναντίον οὐ μόνον τῷ λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τις ἐλύπησέ τι τοῦτον ἢ προσέκρουσέ  
 278 ἐφ' ἃ συμφέρει τῇ πόλει, χρήται. οὔτε γὰρ τὴν  
 ὄργην οὔτε τὴν ἐχθραν οὔτ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν τῶν τοι-  
 ούτων τὸν καλὸν καγαθὸν πολίτην δεῖ τοὺς ὑπὲρ  
 τῶν κοινῶν εἰσεληλυθότας δικαστὰς ἀξιούν αὐτῷ  
 βεβαιούν, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ τούτων εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσιέναι,  
 ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν μὴ ἔχειν ταῦτ' ἐν τῇ φύσει,  
 εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἀνάγκη, πράως καὶ μετρίως διακείμεν'  
 ἔχειν. ἐν τίσιν οὖν σφοδρὸν εἶναι τὸν πολι-  
 τευόμενον καὶ τὸν ῥήτορα δεῖ; ἐν οἷς τῶν ὄλων  
 τι κινδυνεύεται τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐν οἷς πρὸς τοὺς  
 ἐναντίους ἐστὶ τῷ δήμῳ, ἐν τούτοις· ταῦτα γὰρ



γενναίου καὶ ἀγαθοῦ πολίτου. μηδενὸς δὲ ἀδι- 279  
κῆματος πώποτε δημοσίου, προσθήσω δὲ μηδ'  
ιδίου, δίκην ἀξιώσαντα λαβεῖν παρ' ἐμοῦ μήθ'  
ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως μήθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, στεφάνου καὶ  
ἐπαίνου κατηγορίαν ἤκειν συνεσκευασμένον, καὶ  
τοσουτουσι λόγους ἀνηλωκένας ἰδίας ἔχθρας καὶ  
φθόνου καὶ μικροψυχίας ἐστὶ σημεῖον, οὐδενὸς  
χρηστοῦ. τὸ δὲ δὴ καὶ τοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ αὐτὸν  
ἀγῶνας ἐάσαντα νῦν ἐπὶ τόνδ' ἤκειν καὶ πᾶσαν  
ἔχει κακίαν. καί μοι δοκεῖς ἐκ τούτων, Αἰσχίνη, 280  
λόγων ἐπίδειξίν τινα καὶ φωνασκίας βουλόμενος  
ποιήσασθαι τούτον προελέσθαι τὸν ἀγῶνα, οὐκ  
ἀδικήματος οὐδενὸς λαβεῖν τιμωρίαν. ἔστι δ'  
οὐχ ὁ λόγος τοῦ ῥήτορος, Αἰσχίνη, τίμιον, οὐδ' ὁ  
τόνος τῆς φωνῆς, ἀλλὰ τὸ ταῦτ' προαιρεῖσθαι  
τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ τὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς μισεῖν καὶ φι-  
λεῖν οὔσπερ ἂν ἡ πατρίς. ὁ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχων τὴν 281  
ψυχὴν, οὗτος ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ πάντ' ἐρεῖ· ὁ δ' ἀφ' ὧν  
ἡ πόλις προορᾶται τινα κίνδυνον ἑαυτῇ, τούτους  
θεραπεύων οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὀρμῇ τοῖς πολλοῖς,  
οὐκουν οὐδὲ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει προσ-  
δοκίαν. ἀλλ', ὄρας; ἐγώ· ταῦτ' γὰρ συμφέ-  
ρονθ' εἰλόμην τουτοισί, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐξαίρετον οὐδ'  
ἴδιον πεποίημαι. ἄρ' οὖν οὐδὲ σύ; καὶ πῶς; 282  
ὅς εὐθέως μετὰ τὴν μάχην πρεσβευτῆς ἐπορεύου  
πρὸς Φίλιππον, ὅς ἦν τῶν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χρόνοις  
συμφορῶν αἴτιος τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ταῦτ' ἀρνού-

μενος πάντα τὸν ἔμπροσθε χρόνον ταύτην τὴν  
 χρείαν, ὡς πάντες ἴσασιν. καίτοι τίς ὁ τὴν πό-  
 λιν ἐξαπατῶν; οὐχ ὁ μὴ λέγων ἂ φρονεῖ; τῷ  
 δ' ὁ κῆρυξ καταρᾶται δικαίως; οὐ τῷ τοιούτῳ;  
 τί δὲ μείζον ἔχοι τις ἂν εἰπεῖν ἀδίκημα κατ' ἀν-  
 δρὸς ῥήτορος ἢ εἰ μὴ ταῦτ' ἀφρονεῖ καὶ λέγει;  
 283 σὺ τοίνυν οὗτος εὐρέθης. εἶτα σὺ φθέγγῃ καὶ  
 βλέπειν εἰς τὰ τούτων πρόσωπα τολμᾶς; πότερ'  
 οὐχ ἡγέει γινώσκειν αὐτοὺς ὅστις εἶ; ἢ τοσοῦ-  
 τον ὕπνον καὶ λήθην ἅπαντας ἔχειν ὥστ' οὐ  
 μεμνήσθαι τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἐδημηγόρεις ἐν τῷ  
 πολέμῳ, καταρώμενος καὶ διομνύμενος μηδὲν  
 εἶναι σοὶ καὶ Φιλίππῳ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' ἐμὲ τὴν  
 αἰτίαν σοι ταύτην ἐπάγειν τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ' ἔχθρας,  
 284 οὐκ οὔσαν ἀληθῆ; ὡς δ' ἀπηγγέλλθη τάχισθ'  
 ἢ μάχη, οὐδὲν τούτων φροντίσας εὐθέως ὠμολό-  
 γεις καὶ προσεποιουῖ φιλίαν καὶ ξενίαν εἶναί σοι  
 πρὸς αὐτόν, τῇ μισθαρνίᾳ ταῦτα μετατιθέμενος  
 τὰ ὀνόματα· ἐκ ποίας γὰρ ἴσης ἢ δικαίας προ-  
 φάσεως Αἰσχίνῃ τῷ Γλαυκοθέας τῆς τυμπανι-  
 στρίας ξένος ἢ φίλος ἢ γνώριμος ἦν Φίλιππος;  
 ἐγὼ μὲν οὐχ ὄρω, ἀλλ' ἐμισθώθης ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ  
 τουτωνὶ συμφέροντα διαφθείρειν. ἀλλ' ὅμως  
 οὔτῳ φανερώς αὐτὸς εἰλημμένος προδότης καὶ  
 κατὰ σαυτοῦ μηνυτῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβάσει γεγο-  
 νῶς ἐμοὶ λαιδορεῖ καὶ ὀνειδίζει ταῦτα, ὧν πάν-  
 τας μᾶλλον αἰτίους εὐρήσεις.

Πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἡ πόλις, Αἰσχίνη, 285  
 καὶ προείλετο καὶ κατώρθωσε δι' ἐμοῦ, ὧν οὐκ  
 ἠμνημόνησεν. σημεῖον δέ· χειροτονῶν γὰρ ὁ  
 δῆμος τὸν ἐροῦντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι παρ'  
 αὐτὰ τὰ συμβάντα οὐ σὲ ἐχειροτόνησε προβλη-  
 θέντα, καίπερ εὐφωνον ὄντα, οὐδὲ Δημάδην, ἄρτι  
 πεποιηκότα τὴν εἰρήνην, οὐδ' Ἡγήμονα, οὐδ'  
 ἄλλον ὑμῶν οὐδένα, ἀλλ' ἐμέ. καὶ παρελθόντος  
 σοῦ καὶ Πυθοκλέους ὡμῶς καὶ ἀναιδῶς, ὧ Ζεῦ  
 καὶ θεοί, καὶ κατηγορούντων ἐμοῦ ταῦτα ἅ καὶ  
 σὺ νυνί, καὶ λοιδορουμένων, ἔτ' ἄμεινον ἐχειρο-  
 τόνησεν ἐμέ. τὸ δ' αἴτιον οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς μὲν, ὅμως 286  
 δὲ φράσω σοι καγώ. ἀμφοτέρ' ἤδεσαν αὐτοί,  
 τὴν τ' ἐμὴν εὐνοίαν καὶ προθυμίαν, μεθ' ἧς τὰ  
 πράγματ' ἔπραττον, καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀδικίαν·  
 ἅ γὰρ εὐθενούντων τῶν πραγμάτων ἠρνεῖσθε διο-  
 μνύμενοι, ταῦτ' ἐν οἷς ἔπταισεν ἡ πόλις ὡμολο-  
 γήσατε. τοὺς οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀτυχήμασιν  
 ὧν ἐφρόνουσιν λαβόντας ἄδειαν ἐχθροὺς μὲν πάλαι,  
 φανεροὺς δὲ τόθ' ἠγήσαντο αὐτοῖς γεγενῆσθαι.  
 εἶτα καὶ προσήκειν ὑπολαμβάνοντες τὸν ἐροῦντ' 287  
 ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετὴν  
 κοσμήσοντα μήθ' ὁμωρόφιον μήθ' ὁμόσπονδον  
 γεγενημένον εἶναι τοῖς πρὸς ἐκείνους παραταξα-  
 μένοις, μηδ' ἐκεῖ μὲν κωμάζειν καὶ παιωνίζειν  
 ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμφοραῖς μετὰ τῶν αὐτο-  
 χείρων τοῦ φόνου, δεῦρο δ' ἐλθόντα τιμᾶσθαι,

μηδὲ τῇ φωνῇ δακρύνειν ὑποκρινομένους τὴν ἐκείνων τύχην, ἀλλὰ τῇ ψυχῇ συναλαγεῖν. τοῦτο δ' ἐώρων παρ' ἑαυτοῖς καὶ παρ' ἐμοί, παρὰ δ' ὑμῖν οὐ. διὰ ταῦτ' ἐμὲ ἐχειροτόνησαν καὶ οὐχ  
 288 ὑμᾶς. καὶ οὐχ ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὕτως, οἱ δὲ τῶν τετελευτηκότων πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοὶ οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τόθ' αἰρεθέντες ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς ἄλλως πως, ἀλλὰ δέον ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς τὸ περιδείπνον ὡς παρ' οἰκειοτάτῳ τῶν τετελευτηκότων, ὥσπερ τᾶλλ' εἶωθε γίγνεσθαι, τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν παρ' ἐμοί. εἰκότως· γένει μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστος ἐκάστῳ μᾶλλον οἰκείως ἦν ἐμοῦ, κοινῇ δὲ πᾶσιν οὐδεὶς ἐγγυτέρω· ᾧ γὰρ ἐκείνους σωθῆναι καὶ κατορθῶσαι μάλιστα διέφερεν, οὗτος καὶ παθόντων ἂ μὴ ποτ' ὄφελον τῆς ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων λύπης πλείστον μετείχεν.

289 Λέγε δ' αὐτῷ τουτὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ὃ δημοσία προείλετο ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐπιγράψαι, ἢ εἰδῆς, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ σαυτὸν ἀγνώμονα καὶ συκοφάντην ὄντα καὶ μιάρων. Λέγε.

## ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ.

Οἶδε πάτρας ἔνεκα σφετέρας εἰς δῆριν ἔθεντο  
 ὄπλα, καὶ ἀντιπάλων ὕβριν ἀπεσκέδασαν.  
 μαρνάμενοι δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ δείματος οὐκ ἐσάωσαν  
 ψυχάς, ἀλλ' Ἀίδην κοινὸν ἔθεντο βραβῆ,  
 οὐνεκεν Ἑλλήνων, ὡς μὴ ζυγὸν αὐχένι θέντες  
 δουλοσύνης στρυγεράν ἀμφὶς ἔχωσιν ὕβριν.

γαῖα δὲ πατρὶς ἔχει κόλποις τῶν πλείστα καμόντων  
 σώματ', ἐπεὶ θνητοῖς ἐκ Διὸς ἦδε κρίσις·  
 μηδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν ἐστὶ θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν  
 ἐν βιοτῇ, μοῖραν δ' οὐ τι φυγεῖν ἔπορευ.

Ἄκουεις, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ, ὡς τὸ 290  
 μηδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν ἐστὶ θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν  
 οὐ τῷ συμβούλῳ τὴν τοῦ κατορθοῦν τοὺς ἀγωνι-  
 ζομένους ἀνέθηκε δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς. τί  
 οὖν, ὦ κατάρατ', ἐμοὶ περὶ τούτων λαιδορεῖ, καὶ  
 λέγεις ἅ σοὶ καὶ τοῖς σοῖς οἱ θεοὶ τρέψειαν εἰς  
 κεφαλῇ;

Πολλὰ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἄλλα 291  
 κατηγορηκότες αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεψευσμένοι, μά-  
 λιστ' ἐθαύμασα πάντων, ὅτε τῶν συμβεβηκότων  
 τότε τῇ πόλει μνησθεῖς οὐχ ὡς ἂν εὖνους καὶ  
 δίκαιος πολίτης ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην, οὐδ' ἐδάκρυ-  
 σεν, οὐδ' ἔπαθε τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν τῇ ψυχῇ, ἀλλ'  
 ἐπάρας τὴν φωνὴν καὶ γεγηθῶς καὶ λαρυγγίζων  
 ᾤετο μὲν ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖν δηλονότι, δείγμα δ'  
 ἐξέφερε καθ' ἑαυτοῦ ὅτι τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἀνια-  
 ροῖς οὐδὲν ὁμοίως ἔσχε τοῖς ἄλλοις. καίτοι τὸν 292  
 τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς πολιτείας φάσκοντα φροντί-  
 ζειν, ὥσπερ οὗτος νυνί, καὶ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, τοῦτό  
 γ' ἔχειν δεῖ, ταῦτ' ἀλυπεῖσθαι καὶ ταῦτ' αἰσθάνεσθαι  
 τοῖς πολλοῖς, καὶ μὴ τῇ προαιρέσει τῶν κοινῶν  
 ἐν τῷ τῶν ἐναντίων μέρει τετάχθαι. ὁ σὺ νυνὶ  
 πεποικῶς εἶ φανερός, ἐμὲ πάντων αἰτίον καὶ δι'



ἐμὲ εἰς πράγματα φάσκων ἐμπεσεῖν τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμῆς πολιτείας οὐδὲ προαιρέσεως  
 293 ἀρξαμένων ὑμῶν τοῖς Ἑλλησι βοηθεῖν, ἐπεὶ  
 ἔμοιγ' εἰ τοῦτο δοθείη παρ' ὑμῶν, δι' ἐμὲ ὑμᾶς  
 ἠναντιώσθαι τῇ κατὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῇ πρα-  
 τομένη, μείζων ἂν δοθείη δωρεὰ συμπασῶν ὧν  
 τοῖς ἄλλοις δεδώκατε. ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἂν ἐγὼ ταῦτα  
 φῆσαιμι (ἀδικοίην γὰρ ἂν ὑμᾶς), οὐτ' ἂν ὑμεῖς  
 εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι συγχωρήσαίτε· οὗτός τ' εἰ δίκαια  
 ἐποίει, οὐκ ἂν ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔχθρας τὰ  
 μέγιστα τῶν ὑμετέρων καλῶν ἔβλαπτε καὶ διέ-  
 βαλλεν.

294 Ἄλλὰ τί ταῦτ' ἐπιτιμῶ, πολλῶ σκεπτικώτερα  
 ἄλλα κατηγορηκός αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεψευσμένου ;  
 ὃς γὰρ ἐμοῦ φιλιππισμόν, ὃ γῆ καὶ θεοί, κατη-  
 γορεῖ, τί οὗτος οὐκ ἂν εἴποι ; καίτοι νῆ τὸν  
 Ἡρακλέα καὶ πάντας θεούς, εἴ γ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας  
 δέοι σκοπεῖσθαι, τὸ καταψεύδασθαι καὶ δι'  
 ἔχθραν τι λέγειν ἀνελόνας ἐκ μέσου, τίνες ὡς  
 ἀληθῶς εἰσιν οἷς ἂν εἰκότως καὶ δικαίως τὴν  
 τῶν γεγενημένων αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνα-  
 θεῖεν ἅπαντες, τοὺς ὁμοίους τούτῳ παρ' ἐκάστη  
 295 τῶν πόλεων εὐροῖτ' ἂν, οὐ τοὺς ἐμοί· οἱ ὅτ' ἦν  
 ἀσθενῆ τὰ Φιλίππου πράγματα καὶ κομιδῆ μικρά,  
 πολλάκις προλεγόντων ἡμῶν καὶ παρακαλούντων  
 καὶ διδασκόντων τὰ βέλτιστα, τῆς ἰδίας ἔνεκ'  
 αἰσχροκερδείας τὰ κοινῇ συμφέροντα προῖεντο,

τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας ἕκαστοι πολίτας ἐξαπατῶντες καὶ διαφθείροντες, ἕως δούλους ἐποίησαν, Θετταλοὺς Δάοχος Κινέας Θρασύδαος, Ἀρκάδας Κερκιδᾶς Ἰερώνυμος Εὐκαμπίδας, Ἀργείους Μύρτις Τελέδαμος Μνασέας, Ἡλείους Εὐξίθεος Κλεότιμος Ἀρίσταιχος, Μεσσηνίους οἱ Φιλιάδου τοῦ θεοῖς ἐχθροῦ παῖδες Νέων καὶ Θρασύλοχος, Σικωνίους Ἀρίστρατος Ἐπιχάρης, Κορινθίους Δείναρχος Δημάρετος, Μεγαρέας Πτοιόδωρος Ἐλιξος Περίλαος, Θηβαίους Τιμόλας Θεογεΐτων Ἀνεμοίτας, Εὐβοέας Ἰππαρχος Κλείταρχος Σωσίστρατος. ἐπιλείπει με λέγοντα ἢ ἡμέρα τὰ τῶν προδοτῶν 296 ὀνόματα. οὗτοι πάντες εἰσὶν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευμάτων ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν πατρίσιν ὧν περ οὗτοι παρ' ὑμῖν, ἄνθρωποι μιαιοὶ καὶ κόλακες καὶ ἀλάστορες, ἠκρωτηριασμένοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι πατρίδας, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν προπεπωκότες πρότερον μὲν Φιλίππῳ νῦν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, τῇ γαστρὶ μετροῦντες καὶ τοῖς αἰσχίστοις τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, τὴν δ' ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ μηδένα ἔχειν δεσπότην αὐτῶν, ἃ τοῖς προτέροις Ἑλλησιν ὄροι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἦσαν καὶ κανόνες, ἀνατετραφότες.

Ταύτης τοίνυν τῆς οὕτως αἰσχροῦ καὶ περιβοῆς 297 του συστάσεως καὶ κακίας, μᾶλλον δ', ὧ ἄνδρες

236. Ἡδέως δ' ἂν ἔγωγε, ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐναντίον ὑμῶν ὁμολογησαίμην πρὸς τὸν γράψαντα τὸ ψήφισμα, διὰ ποίας ἐνεργεσίας ἀξιοῖ Δημοσθένην στεφανῶσαι. εἰ μὲν γὰρ λέγεις, ὅθεν τὴν

Ἀθηναῖοι, προδοσίας, εἰ δεῖ μὴ ληρεῖν, τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, ἣ τε πόλις παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀναίτιος γέγονεν ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν πολιτευμάτων καὶ ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν. εἰτά μ' ἐρωτᾶς ἀντιποίας ἀρετῆς ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι; ἐγὼ δέ σοι λέγω, ὅτι τῶν πολιτευομένων παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι διαφθαρέντων ἀπάντων, ἀρξαμένων ἀπὸ σοῦ, πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου νῦν δ' ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου, 298 ἐμὲ οὔτε καιρὸς οὔτε φιλανθρωπία λόγων οὔτ' ἐπαγγελιῶν μέγεθος οὔτ' ἐλπίς οὔτε φόβος οὔτ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐπῆρεν οὐδὲ προηγάγετο ὧν ἔκρινα δικαίων καὶ συμφερόντων τῇ πατρίδι οὐδὲν προδοῦναι, οὐδ', ὅσα συμβεβούλευκα πῶποτε τουτοισί, ὁμοίως ὑμῖν ὥσπερ ἂν τρυτάνη ρέπων ἐπὶ τὸ λῆμμα συμβεβούλευκα, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας καὶ ἀδιαφθόρου τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ μεγίστων δὴ πραγμάτων τῶν κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων προστὰς πάντα ταῦτα ὑγιῶς καὶ δικαίως πεπολίτευ- 299 μαί. διὰ ταῦτ' ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι. τὸν δὲ τειχισμὸν τοῦτον, ὃν σύ μου διέσυρες, καὶ τὴν ταφρείαν ἀξία μὲν χάριτος καὶ ἐπαίνου κρίνω, πῶς γὰρ οὐ; πόρρω μέντοι που τῶν ἐμαυτῷ πεπολιτευμένων

ἀρχὴν τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἐποίησω, ὅτι τὰς τάφρους τὰς περὶ τὰ τείχη καλῶς ἐτάφρευσε, θαυμάζω σου. τοῦ γὰρ ταῦτ' ἐξεργασθῆναι καλῶς τὸ γεγενῆσθαι τούτων αἴτιον μείζω κατηγορίαν ἔχει· οὐ γὰρ περιχαρᾶκόσαντα χρὴ τὰ τείχη οὐδὲ τὰς δημοσίας ταφὰς ἀνελόντα τὸν ὀρθῶς πεπολιτευμένον δωρεὰς αἰτεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀγαθοῦ τινος αἴτιον γεγενῆμένον τῇ πόλει.

τίθεμαι. οὐ λίθοις ἐτείχισα τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ πλίνθοις ἐγώ, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτοις μέγιστον τῶν ἔμαντοῦ φρονῶ· ἀλλ' ἐὰν τὸν ἐμὸν τειχισμόν βούλη δικάϊως σκοπεῖν, εὐρήσεις ὄπλα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τόπους καὶ λιμένας καὶ ναῦς καὶ πολλοὺς ἵππους καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀμυνομένους. ταῦτα προῦ- 300  
βαλόμην ἐγὼ πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅσον ἦν ἀνθρωπίνῳ λογισμῷ δυνατόν, καὶ τούτοις ἐτείχισα τὴν χώραν, οὐχὶ τὸν κύκλον τοῦ Πειραιῶς οὐδὲ τοῦ ἄσπεως. οὐδέ γ' ἠττήθην ἐγὼ τοῖς λογισμοῖς Φιλίππου, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, οὐδὲ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ἀλλ' οἱ τῶν συμμάχων στρατηγοὶ καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις τῇ τύχῃ. τίνες αἱ τούτων ἀποδείξεις; ἐναργεῖς καὶ φανεραί. σκοπεῖτε δέ.

Τί χρῆν τὸν εὖνουν πολίτην ποιεῖν, τί τὸν μετὰ 301  
πάσης προνοίας καὶ προθυμίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος πολιτευόμενον; οὐκ ἐκ μὲν θαλάττης τὴν Εὐβοίαν προβαλέσθαι πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἐκ δὲ τῆς μεσογείας τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πρὸς Πελοπόννησον τόπων τοὺς ὁμόρους ταύτη; οὐ τὴν σιτοπομπίαν, ὅπως παρὰ πᾶσαν φιλίαν ἄχρι τοῦ Πειραιῶς κομισθήσεται, προΐδῆσθαι; καὶ τὰ μὲν σῶσαι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐκ- 302  
πέμποντα βοηθείας καὶ λέγοντα καὶ γράφοντα τοιαῦτα, τὴν Προκόννησον, τὴν Χερρόνησον, τὴν Τένεδον, τὰ δ' ὅπως οἰκεία καὶ σύμμαχ' ὑπάρξει πρᾶξαι, τὸ Βυζάντιον, τὴν Ἀβυδον, τὴν Εὐβοίαν;

καὶ τῶν μὲν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑπαρχουσῶν δυνάμεων  
 τὰς μεγίστας ἀφελεῖν, ὧν δ' ἐνέλειπε τῇ πόλει,  
 ταῦτα προσθεῖναι; ταῦτα τοίνυν ἅπαντα πέ-  
 πρακται τοῖς ἐμοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς  
 303 πολιτεύμασιν, ἃ καὶ βεβουλευμένα, ὧ ἄνδρες  
 Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰς ἄνευ φθόνου τις βούληται σκο-  
 πεῖν, ὀρθῶς εὐρήσει καὶ πεπραγμένα πάσῃ δι-  
 καιοσύνῃ, καὶ τὸν ἐκάστου καιρὸν οὐ παρεθέντα  
 οὐδ' ἀγνοηθέντα οὐδὲ προεθέντα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ  
 ὅσα εἰς ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς δύναμιν καὶ λογισμὸν ἦκεν,  
 οὐδὲν ἔλλειφθέν. εἰ δὲ ἢ δαίμονός τινος ἢ τύχης  
 ἰσχὺς ἢ στρατηγῶν φαυλότης ἢ τῶν προδιδόντων  
 τὰς πόλεις ὑμῶν κακία ἢ πάντα ταῦτα ἐλυμαίνετο  
 τοῖς ὅλοις, ἕως ἀνέτρεψαν, τί Δημοσθένης ἀδικεῖ;  
 304 εἰ δ' οἷος ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν κατὰ τὴν ἑμαντοῦ τάξιν,  
 εἰς ἐν ἐκάστῃ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων ἀνὴρ ἐγένε-  
 νετο, μᾶλλον δ' εἰ ἓνα ἄνδρα μόνον Θετταλία καὶ  
 ἓνα ἄνδρα Ἀρκαδία ταῦτὰ φρονοῦντα ἔσχεν ἐμοί,  
 οὐδεὶς οὔτε τῶν ἔξω Πυλῶν Ἑλλήνων οὔτε τῶν  
 305 εἴσω τοῖς παροῦσι κακοῖς ἐκέχρητ' ἄν, ἀλλὰ πάν-  
 τες ἄν ὄντες ἐλεύθεροι καὶ αὐτόνομοι μετὰ πάσης  
 ἀδείας ἀσφαλῶς ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ὄκου  
 πατρίδας, τῶν τοσοῦτων καὶ τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν ὑμῖν  
 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀθηναίοις ἔχοντες χάριν δι' ἐμέ.  
 ἵνα δ' εἰδῆτε ὅτι πολλῶ τοῖς λόγοις ἐλάττωσι  
 χρῶμαι τῶν ἔργων, εὐλαβούμενος τὸν φθόνον,  
 λέγε μοι ταυτὶ καὶ ἀνάγνωθι λαβῶν.



## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

Ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα πράττειν, Αἰσχίη, τὸν κα- 306  
 λὸν κάγαθὸν πολίτην δεῖ, ὧν κατορθουμένων μὲν  
 μεγίστοις ἀναμφισβητήτως ὑπῆρχεν εἶναι καὶ τὸ  
 δικαίως προσῆν, ὡς ἐτέρως δὲ συμβάντων τὸ γοῦν  
 εὐδοκιμεῖν περίεστι καὶ τὸ μηδένα μέμφεσθαι τὴν  
 πόλιν μηδὲ τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ τὴν τύ-  
 χην κακίζειν τὴν οὕτω τὰ πράγματα κρίνασαν, οὐ 307  
 μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἀποστάντα τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ πό-  
 λει, μισθώσαντα δ' αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐναντίοις, τοὺς  
 ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καιροὺς ἀντὶ τῶν τῆς πατρίδος  
 θεραπεύειν, οὐδὲ τὸν μὲν πράγματα ἄξια τῆς πό-  
 λεως ὑποστάντα λέγειν καὶ γράφειν καὶ μένειν  
 ἐπὶ τούτων βασκαίνειν, ἐὰν δέ τις ἰδίᾳ τι λυπήσῃ,  
 τοῦτο μεμνήσθαι καὶ τηρεῖν, οὐδέ γ' ἡσυχίαν  
 ἄγειν ἄδικον καὶ ὑπουλον, ὃ σὺ ποιεῖς πολλάκις.  
 ἔστι γάρ, ἔστιν ἡσυχία δικαία καὶ συμφέρουσα 308  
 τῇ πόλει, ἣν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ὑμεῖς ἀπλῶς  
 ἄγετε. ἀλλ' οὐ ταύτην οὗτος ἄγει τὴν ἡσυχίαν,  
 πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀποστὰς ὅταν αὐτῷ δόξῃ

216. Ἄλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν μου τοῦ βίου διαβάλλει καὶ τῆς  
 σιωπῆς μου κατηγορεῖ, ἵνα μηδεὶς αὐτῷ τόπος ἀσυκοφάντητος  
 παραλείπηται, καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις μετὰ τῶν νεωτέρων μου  
 διατριβὰς καταμέμφεται, καὶ κατὰ τῆσδε τῆς κρίσεως εὐθὺς ἀρχό-  
 μενος τοῦ λόγου φέρει τινὰ αἰτίαν, λέγων, ὡς ἐγὼ τὴν γραφὴν  
 οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐγραψάμην, ἀλλ' ἐνδεικνύμενος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ  
 διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχθραν. 217. καὶ νῆ Δί', ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνο-

τῆς πολιτείας (πολλάκις δὲ δοκεῖ) φυλάττει πηνίκ' ἔσσεσθε μεστοὶ τοῦ συνεχῶς λέγοντος ἢ παρὰ τῆς τύχης τι συμβέβηκεν ἐναντίωμα ἢ ἄλλο τι δύσκολον γέγονε (πολλὰ δὲ τὰνθρώπινα). εἴτ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ῥήτωρ ἐξαίφνης ἐκ τῆς ἡσυχίας ὥσπερ πνεῦμ' ἐφάνη, καὶ πεφωνασκηκῶς καὶ συνειλοχῶς ῥήματα καὶ λόγους συνείρει τούτους σαφῶς καὶ ἀπνευστί, ὄνησιν μὲν οὐδεμίαν φέροντας οὐδ' ἀγαθοῦ κτήσιν οὐδενός, συμφορὰν δὲ τῷ τυχόντι  
 309 τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ κοινὴν αἰσχύνην. καίτοι ταύτης τῆς μελέτης καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας, Αἰσχίνη, εἴ περ ἐκ ψυχῆς δικαίας ἐγίγνετο καὶ τὰ τῆς πατρίδος συμφέροντα προηρημένης, τοὺς καρποὺς ἔδει γενναίους καὶ καλοὺς καὶ πᾶσιν ὠφελίμους εἶναι, συμμαχίας πόλεων, πόρους χρημάτων, ἐμπορίου κατασκευῆν, νόμων συμφερόντων θέσεις, τοῖς  
 310 ἀποδειχθεῖσιν ἐχθροῖς ἐναντιώματα. τούτων γὰρ ἀπάντων ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐξέτασις, καὶ ἔδωκεν ὁ παρελθὼν χρόνος πολλὰς ἀποδείξεις ἀνδρὶ καλῷ τε καὶ ἀγαθῷ, ἐν οἷς οὐδαμοῦ σὺ φανήσῃ γεγονώς, οὐ πρῶτος, οὐ δεύτερος, οὐ τρίτος, οὐ

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μαι, μέλλει με ἀνερωτᾶν, διὰ τί τὸ μὲν κεφάλαιον τῆς πολιτείας αὐτοῦ ψέγω, τὰ δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον οὐκ ἐκώλυον οὐδ' ἐγραφόμεν, ἀλλὰ διαλιπὼν καὶ πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν οὐ πυκνὰ προσιῶν ἀπήνεγκα τὴν γραφήν. ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε τὰς Δημοσθένους διατριβὰς ἐξήλωκα, οὔτ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐμαντοῦ αἰσχύνομαι, οὔτε τοὺς εἰρημένους ἐν ὑμῖν λόγους ἐμαντῷ ἀρρήτους εἶναι βουλοίμην, οὔτε τὰ αὐτὰ τούτῳ δημηγορήσας ἐδεξάμην ἀν ζῆν.

τέταρτος, οὐ πέμπτος, οὐχ ἕκτος, οὐχ ὅποστο-  
 σουν, οὐκουν ἐπὶ γ' οἷς ἡ πατρὶς ηὐξάνετο. τίς <sup>311</sup>  
 γὰρ συμμαχία σοῦ πράξαντος γέγονε τῇ πόλει ;  
 τίς δὲ βοήθεια ἢ κτήσις εὐνοίας ἢ δόξης ; τίς δὲ  
 πρεσβεία ; τίς διακονία δι' ἣν ἡ πόλις ἐντιμο-  
 τέρα ; τί τῶν οἰκείων ἢ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ ξενι-  
 κῶν, οἷς ἐπέστης, ἐπηνώρθωται ; ποῖαι τριήρεις ;  
 ποῖα βέλη ; ποῖοι νεώσοικοι ; τίς ἐπισκευὴ τει-  
 χῶν ; ποῖον ἵππικόν ; τί τῶν ἀπάντων σὺ χρήσι-  
 μος εἶ ; τίς ἢ τοῖς εὐπόροις ἢ τοῖς ἀπόροις πο-  
 λιτικὴ καὶ κοινὴ βοήθεια χρημάτων ; οὐδεμία.  
 ἀλλ', ὡ τᾶν, εἰ μηδὲν τούτων, εὐνοιά γε καὶ προ- <sup>312</sup>  
 θυμία ; ποῦ ; πότε ; ὅστις, ὡ πάντων ἀδικώτατε,  
 οὐδ' ὅτε ἅπαντες, ὅσοι πώποτ' ἐφθέγγαντο ἐπὶ  
 τοῦ βήματος, εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐπέδιδουσαν, καὶ τὸ  
 τελευταῖον Ἀριστόνικος τὸ συνειλεγμένον εἰς τὴν  
 ἐπιτιμίαν, οὐδὲ τότε οὔτε παρήλθες οὔτ' ἐπέδωκας  
 οὐδέν, οὐκ ἀπορῶν, πῶς γάρ ; ὅς γε κεκληρονό-  
 μηκας μὲν τῶν Φίλωνος τοῦ κηδεστοῦ χρημάτων  
 πλειόνων ἢ πεντεταλάντων, διτάλαντον δ' εἶχες  
 ἔρανον δωρεὰν παρὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τῶν συμμο-  
 ριῶν ἐφ' οἷς ἐλυμήνω τὸν τριηραρχικὸν νόμον.  
 ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ λόγον ἐκ λόγου λέγων τοῦ παρόντος <sup>313</sup>  
 ἔμαντὸν ἐκκρούσω, παραλείψω ταῦτα. ἀλλ' ὅτι  
 γ' οὐχὶ δι' ἔνδειαν οὐκ ἐπέδωκας, ἐκ τούτων δῆλον,  
 ἀλλὰ φυλάττων τὸ μηδὲν ἐναντίον γενέσθαι παρὰ  
 σοῦ τούτοις οἷς ἅπαντα πολιτεύῃ. ἐν τίσιν οὖν

σὺ νεανίας καὶ πηνίκα λαμπρός; ἤνικ' ἂν κατὰ τούτων τι δέη, ἐν τούτοις λαμπροφωνότατος, μνημονικώτατος, ὑποκριτῆς ἄριστος, τραγικὸς Θεοκρίνης.

- 314 Εἶτα τῶν πρότερον γεγενημένων ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν μέμνησαι. καὶ καλῶς ποιεῖς. οὐ μέντοι δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τετελευτηκότας εὐνοίαν ὑπάρχουσαν προλαβόντα παρ' ὑμῶν πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐξετάζειν καὶ παραβάλ-
- 315 λειν ἐμὲ τὸν νῦν ζῶντα μεθ' ὑμῶν. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε τῶν πάντων ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ζῶσι πᾶσιν ὑπεστί τις ἢ πλείων ἢ ἐλάττων φθόνος, τοὺς τεθνεώτας δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οὐδεὶς ἔτι μισεῖ; οὕτως οὖν ἐχόντων τούτων τῇ φύσει, πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἐμαντοῦ νῦν ἐγὼ κρίνωμαι καὶ θεωρῶμαι; μηδαμῶς· οὔτε γὰρ δίκαιον οὔτ' ἴσον, Αἰσχίνη, ἀλλὰ πρὸς σὲ καὶ ἄλλον εἴ τινα βούλει τῶν ταῦτά σοι προη-
- 316 ρημένων καὶ ζώντων. κάκεῖνο σκόπει. πότερον κάλλιον καὶ ἄμεινον τῇ πόλει διὰ τὰς τῶν πρό-

257. Ὅταν δ' ἐπὶ τελευτῆς ἤδη τοῦ λόγου συνηγόρους τοὺς κοινωνοὺς τῶν δωροδοκημάτων αὐτῷ παρακαλῆ, ὑπολαμβάνετε ὄραν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, οὗ νῦν ἐστηκὼς ἐγὼ λέγω, ἀντιπαρεταγμένους πρὸς τὴν τούτων ἀσέλγειαν τοὺς τῆς πόλεως εὐεργέτας, Σόλωνα μὲν τὸν καλλίστοις νόμοις κοσμήσαντα τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ἄνδρα φιλόσοφον καὶ νομοθέτην ἀγαθόν, σωφρόνως, ὡς προσῆκεν αὐτῷ, δεόμενον ὑμῶν μηδενὶ τρόπῳ τοὺς Δημοσθένους λόγους περὶ πλείονος ποιήσασθαι τῶν ὄρκων καὶ τῶν νόμων, 258. Ἄριστείδην δὲ τὸν τοὺς φόρους τάξαντα τοῖς Ἕλλησιν.

τερον εὐεργεσίας, οὐσας ὑπερμεγέθεις, οὐ μὲν οὖν εἶποι τις ἂν ἡλικας, τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν παρόντα βίον γιγνομένας εἰς ἀχαριστίαν καὶ προπηλακισμόν ἄγειν, ἢ πᾶσιν ὅσοι τι μετ' εὐνοίας πράττουσι, τῆς τούτων τιμῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας μετεῖναι; καὶ μὴν εἰ καὶ τοῦτ' ἄρα δεῖ με εἰπεῖν, ἢ μὲν ἐμῇ 317 πολιτεία καὶ προαίρεσις, ἂν τις ὀρθῶς σκοπῇ, ταῖς τῶν τότε ἐπαινουμένων ἀνδρῶν ὁμοία καὶ ταῦτὰ βουλομένη φανήσεται, ἢ δὲ σὴ ταῖς τῶν τοὺς τοιούτους τότε συκοφαντούντων· δηλὸν γὰρ ὅτι καὶ κατ' ἐκείνους ἦσαν τινες οἱ διασύροντες τοὺς ὄντας τότε, τοὺς δὲ πρότερον γεγενημένους ἐπήνουν, βάσκανον πρᾶγμα καὶ ταῦτὸ ποιοῦντες σοί. εἶτα λέγεις ὡς οὐδὲν ὁμοίός εἰμι ἐκείνοις 318 ἐγώ; σὺ δ' ὁμοίος, Αἰσχίνης; ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸς ὁ σός; ἄλλος δέ τις τῶν νῦν ῥητόρων; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδένα φημί. ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας, ὧ χρηστέ, ἵνα μηδὲν ἄλλ' εἶπω, τὸν ζῶντα ἐξέταζε καὶ τοὺς καθ' αὐτόν, ὥσπερ τᾶλλα πάντα, τοὺς ποιητάς, τοὺς χορούς, τοὺς ἀγωνιστάς. ὁ Φιλάμ- 319 μων οὐχ ὅτι Γλαύκου τοῦ Καρυστίου καὶ τινων

189. Καίτοι πυνθάνομαί γ' αὐτὸν μέλλειν λέγειν, ὡς οὐ δίκαια ποιῶ παραβάλλον αὐτῷ τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἔργα· οὐδὲ γὰρ Φιλάμμωνά φησι τὸν πύκτην Ὀλυμπίασι στεφανωθῆναι νικήσαντα Γλαῦκον τὸν παλαιὸν ἐκείνον πύκτην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀγωνιστάς, ὥσπερ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοοῦντας, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν πύκταις ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγὼν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τοῖς δ' ἀξιούσι στεφανοῦσθαι πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἧς καὶ ἕνεκα στεφανοῦνται.



- ἐτέρων πρότερον γεγενημένων ἀθλητῶν ἀσθενέ-  
 στερος ἦν, ἀστεφάνωτος ἐκ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας ἀπῆει,  
 ἀλλ' ὅτι τῶν εἰσελθόντων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄριστα  
 ἐμάχετο, ἐστεφανοῦτο καὶ νικῶν ἀνηγορεύετο.  
 καὶ σὺ πρὸς τοὺς νῦν ὄρα με ῥήτορας, πρὸς  
 σαυτόν, πρὸς ὄντινα βούλει τῶν ἀπάντων· οὐ-  
 320 δένα ἐξίσταμαι. ὦν, ὅτε μὲν τῇ πόλει τὰ βέλ-  
 τιστα ἐλέσθαι παρῆν, ἐφαιμίλλου τῆς εἰς τὴν  
 πατρίδα εὐνοίας ἐν κοινῷ πᾶσι κειμένης, ἐγὼ  
 κράτιστα λέγων ἐφαινόμην, καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς καὶ  
 ψηφίσμασι καὶ νόμοις καὶ πρεσβείαις ἅπαντα  
 διωκέιτο, ὑμῶν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἦν οὐδαμοῦ, πλὴν εἰ  
 τούτοις ἐπηρεάσαι τι δέοι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἂ μὴ ποτ'  
 ὄφελε συνέβη, καὶ οὐκέτι συμβούλων ἀλλὰ τῶν  
 τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις ὑπηρετούντων καὶ τῶν κατὰ  
 τῆς πατρίδος μισθαρνεῖν ἐτοίμων καὶ τῶν κολα-  
 κεύειν ἕτερον βουλομένων ἐξέτασις, τηνικαῦτα  
 σὺ καὶ τούτων ἕκαστος ἐν τάξει καὶ μέγας καὶ  
 λαμπρὸς ἵπποτρόφος, ἐγὼ δ' ἀσθενής, ὁμολογῶ,  
 ἀλλ' εὖνους μᾶλλον ὑμῶν τουτοισί.
- 321 Δύο δ', ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν φύσει μέτριον  
 πολίτην ἔχειν δεῖ (οὕτω γάρ μοι περὶ ἐμαντοῦ  
 λέγοντι ἀνεπιφθονώτατον εἰπεῖν), ἐν μὲν ταῖς  
 ἐξουσίαις τὴν τοῦ γενναίου καὶ τοῦ πρωτείου τῇ  
 πόλει προαίρεσιν διαφυλάττειν, ἐν παντὶ δὲ καιρῷ  
 καὶ πράξει τὴν εὖνοιαν· τούτου γὰρ ἡ φύσις κυ-  
 ρία, τοῦ δύνασθαι δὲ καὶ ἰσχύειν ἕτερα. ταύτην

τοίνυν παρ' ἐμοὶ μεμενηκυῖαν εὐρήσετε ἀπλῶς.  
 ὁρᾶτε δέ. οὐκ ἐξαιτούμενος, οὐκ Ἀμφικτυονικὰς 322  
 δίκας ἐπαγόντων, οὐκ ἐπαγγελλομένων, οὐχὶ τοὺς  
 καταράτους τούτους ὥσπερ θηρία μοι προσβαλ-  
 λόντων, οὐδαμῶς ἐγὼ προδέδωκα τὴν εἰς ὑμᾶς  
 εὐνοίαν. τὸ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθύς ὀρθὴν καὶ δι-  
 καίαν τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς πολιτείας εἰλόμην, τὰς τιμάς,  
 τὰς δυναστείας, τὰς εὐδοξίας τὰς τῆς πατρίδος  
 θεραπεύειν, ταύτας αὔξειν, μετὰ τούτων εἶναι.  
 οὐκ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ἐτέρων εὐτυχήμασι φαιδρὸς ἐγὼ 323  
 καὶ γεγηθὼς κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν περιέρχομαι, τὴν  
 δεξιὰν προτείνων καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενος τούτοις οὓς  
 ἂν ἐκεῖσε ἀπαγγέλλειν οἴωμαι, τῶν δὲ τῆς πόλεως  
 ἀγαθῶν πεφρικῶς ἀκούω καὶ στένων καὶ κύπτων  
 εἰς τὴν γῆν, ὥσπερ οἱ δυσσεβεῖς οὗτοι, οἱ τὴν  
 μὲν πόλιν διασύρουσιν, ὥσπερ οὐχ αὐτοὺς διασύ-  
 ροντες, ὅταν τοῦτο ποιῶσιν, ἔξω δὲ βλέπουσι, καὶ  
 ἐν οἷς ἀτυχησάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐτύχησεν ἕτε-  
 ρος, ταῦτ' ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ ὅπως τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον  
 μενεῖ φασι δεῖν τηρεῖν.

Μὴ δῆτ', ὧ πάντες θεοί, μηδεὶς ταῦθ' ὑμῶν ἐπι- 324

260. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὧ γῆ καὶ ἡλιε καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ σύνεσις καὶ παιδεία, ἧ διωγιγνώσκωμεν τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχρά, βεβοήθηκα καὶ εἴρηκα. καὶ εἰ μὲν καλῶς καὶ ἀξίως τοῦ ἀδικήματος κατηγορηκα, εἶπον ὡς ἐβουλόμην, εἰ δὲ ἐνδεεστέρως, ὡς ἐδυνάμην. Ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων λόγων καὶ ἐκ τῶν παραλειπομένων αὐτοὶ τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ψηφίσασθε.

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νεύσειεν, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν καὶ τούτοις βελτίω  
τινὰ νοῦν καὶ φρένας ἐνθείητε, εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἔχουσιν  
ἀνιάτως, τούτους μὲν αὐτοὺς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐξώλεις  
καὶ προώλεις ἐν γῆ καὶ θαλάττῃ ποιήσατε, ἡμῖν  
δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖς τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν  
ἐπηρτημένων φόβων δότε καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ.

NOTES.

## ABBREVIATIONS.

Bekk. ....	Bekker's Edition.
cf. ....	Latin confer, i. e. compare, see.
Cu. ....	Curtius's Grammar.
Dind. ....	Dindorf's Edition.
Diss. or D. ....	Dissen's Edition.
Editt. ....	Editions or Editors.
fr. ....	from.
G M T. ....	Goodwin's Greek Moods and Tenses.
G. ....	Goodwin's Grammar.
H. ....	Hadley's Grammar, revised by Allen.
i. e. ....	id est.
K. ....	Kühner's Grammar.
Kenn. ....	Kennedy's Translation.
κ. τ. ε̅. ....	καὶ τὰ ἕτερα, etc.
L. and S. ....	Liddell and Scott's Lexicon.
Laur. S. ....	Laurentian Manuscript S.
lit. ....	literal or literally.
Lord B. ....	Lord Brougham.
Madv. G. S. ....	Madvig's Greek Syntax.
MS., MSS. ....	Manuscript, Manuscripts.
Σ. ....	Σίγμα, name of the oldest and best Manuscript of the text.
sc. ....	scilicet, namely, understood.
Schaeff. ....	Schaefer's Edition.
st. ....	instead of.
V., Voem. ....	Voemel's Edition.
W. ....	Westermann's Edition.
w. ....	with.
Wh. ....	Whiston's Edition.
wh. ....	which.
Z. ....	The Zürich Edition of the text, by Baiter and Sauppe.



## NOTES.



THIS oration was more commonly known among the ancients under the name of *pro Ctesiphonte*. Its merits were especially lauded by the ancient rhetoricians, particularly by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*de Antiq. Orat. Comm.*, VI. 953 ff, *ed. Reiske*, and *de Verborum Compositione*, cap. XXV.), by Hermogenes (*de Eloquentiæ Ratione*), and by Quintilian (*Orat. Inst.*, XI., XII.).

EXORDIUM, §§ 1-8. In this introduction the orator manifests a certain anxiety and timidity. Cf. Quint., XI. 3. 97.

§ 1. **πρῶτον μὲν...εὔχομαι**: to commence a speech w. an invocation was unusual among the Greeks. One notable instance is Lycurg. *c. Leocr.*: εὔχομαι γὰρ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς. Æsch. *c. Timarch.*, § 116, speaks of beseeching all the gods. But with the Romans this was not infrequent. Cf. Cic. *pro L. Murena*, *pro C. Cornelio*. Servius remarks on Verg. *Æn.*, XI. 301: *Majores nullam orationem nisi invocatis numinibus inchoabant*. — **ὦ ἄνδρες Ἄ.**: for the nature of the court thus addressed vid. Dict. Antiq. sub *Dicasterion*, *Dicastes*; Grote, IV. 188 ff; Schoemann, *Greek Antiq.* — **τοῖς**: omitted by a few MSS. Dionys. Halic. shows that this word is essential to the rhythm of the sentence, wh. is *anapaestic*. The same reason is given for the addition of **ι** in *τουτοῖ* below. — **δοσὴν... τοσαύτην**: by reversing the order of relat. and demonstr. clause the orator makes more prominent the claim or ground upon wh. his request is based. — **ἔχων...διατελῶ**: what use of the partic. ? H. 980, 981; G. 1578, 1580; Cu. § 590. — **ἐπειθ'**: the **δέ** correlative w. **μὲν** is often omitted w. **εἶτα**. Cf. H. 1046, b; Madv. *Gr. Syn.*, § 188, Rem. 5. — **ὃ πέρ** has for its antecedent **τοῦτο**, the whole referring to **μὴ...ποιήσασθαι...ἀλλὰ...τὸν ὄρκον**, thus: *that the gods may put that into your hearts which is especially for your interest, etc., not to make...but, etc.* — **εὐσεβείας...δόξης**: “*εὐσεβεία* refers to their oath in particular; *δόξα* to equity in general. For *δόξα*

in § 8 the orator substitutes *εὐδοξία* as more explicit." TYLER. — τοῦ belongs to the whole phrase. So Plat. *Repub.*, 352 d : ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ δυντα τρόπον χρὴ ζῆν ; Herod. 8. 79 : στασιάξειν περὶ τοῦ ὀκότερος ἡμέων πλέω ἀγαθὰ τὴν πατρίδα ἐργάσεται.

§ 2. τὸν ὄρκον : the oath taken by the *Heliastæ*. Isocr. 15, § 21, gives it in substance thus : ὀμνύναι ἢ μὴν ὁμοίως ἀκροάσασθαι τῶν κατηγορούντων καὶ τῶν ἀπολογουμένων. — δικαίους : what these *legal requirements* were, Dem. explains more fully in his *Orat. c. Lept.*, §§ 94, 96. — ἀκροάσασθαι : so reads Σ ; the other MSS. have ἀκροᾶσθαι. What is the difference? — οὐδέ : the force of μόνον is continued. So in § 93. — ἴσην : the word ἀμφοτέροις, wh. follows in most MSS., is probably an interpolation from § 7. ἀποδοῦναι : what is the force of the ἀπό in this compound? — τὸ τῇ τάξει...χρήσασθαι : expegetical of τὸ...ἀκροάσασθαι and *pred. nom.* after ἐστίν. — τῇ τάξει...τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ embraces both the *order* and the *matter* of the defence. The τάξις is made prominent, as it was in this particular that Æsch. sought to hamper Dem. in making his defence. — βεβούληται καὶ προήρηται : the perf. tense is used to indicate the previous preparation in accordance w. the practice of the ancient orators. — ὡς...οὕτως : here again the relat. before the demonstr. clause. The attention of the judges is not called to οὕτως until its explanation (ὡς) has first been given. — Dissem calls attention to the completeness of this first period, and analyzes it into three parts, of wh. the first prepares the way for the second, the second for the third ; while in the importance of the thought the same order is preserved. The orator now gives (§§ 3, 4) the special reasons for his previous request.

§ 3. οὖν = *igitur*, and is used here, as often, to indicate transition in the thought. — πολλὰ μὲν, κ. τ. ἐ., *now, while in many points...there are two wh. are especially great.* — δὲ introduces the principal, μὲν the subordinate sentence. καὶ is emphatic w. μεγάλα ; cf. καὶ μάλα, καὶ πάν. — οὐ περὶ τ. ἔ. ἀγ., i. e. *I have more at stake.* — ἔλθιν τὴν γραφήν, lit. *to seize the indictment* ; somewhat similar is our phrase, *to get a verdict.* Transl., *to win his case.* The loss of Æsch. in case of defeat would only be a fine of 1000 drachmæ and a forfeiture of the privilege of instituting similar suits. Cf. Boeckh's *Publ. Economy of the Athen.*, I. p. 406 ; Meier and Schöm. *Att. Proc.*, p. 734. — ἀλλ' ἔμοι μὲν : by an abrupt stop, called in rhetorical phraseology *aposiopesis* (cf. Quint. *Orat. Inst.*, IX. 2, § 54), the orator leaves his hearers to imagine the rest, since it would be *unpleasant* (δυσχερὲς) for him to allude to an unfavorable verdict. Other instances are found in §§ 22, 195. W. supplies the thought in this way : *but for me, — my whole political career is at stake in dependence on your approbation.* — ἐκ περιουσίας, lit. *from a superabundance* ; hence, *needlessly, wantonly.* We

understand Dem. to mean this: Æsch. jeopardizes nothing in this trial; he has but little to lose in case of defeat, nothing to gain in case of success. This prosecution, therefore, involving my dearest interests, has for its only gain my loss; hence, is undertaken in a spirit of simple wantonness and malice. Cf. οἱ δ' ἐκ περιουσίας πονηροί, Dem. c. Steph., § 67. Plato in *Theat.*, 154 D, uses this expression of rhetorical contests that were engaged in as a *pastime*. — ἕτερον δ', sc. ἐλαττοῦμαι. — λοιδοριῶν, κατηγοριῶν: how these differ the orator shows in § 123.

§ 4. ὡς ἔπος εἰπείν modifies πᾶσιν. For the constr. cf. H. 956; G. 1534; Cu. § 564. — ἐνοχλεῖ: this fact had not escaped Æsch.; cf. infra. — κἄν...λέγω...δόξω: cf. G M T. 444; H. 898; G. 1403; Cu. § 545. — ἀπολύσασθαι...δακνύναι: Diss. thinks the aor. is used w. reference to the single charges (τὰ κατηγορημένα), each of wh. was to be refuted, and the pres. to denote the act that is to be continued throughout the oration — ὅ τι...ἀν...ἀναγκάσῃ: cf. G M T. 520; H. 912, 916; G. 1428, 1434; Cu. § 554. The skill of the orator in making his opponent responsible for the odium of his self-laudation is commented on by Quint., XI. 1. 22, as follows: "Neque hoc dico non aliquando de rebus a se gestis oratori esse dicendum, sicut eidem Demostheni pro Ctesiphonte, quod tamen ita emendavit ut necessitatem id faciendi ostenderet, invidiamque omnem in eum regeret qui hoc se coegisset."

§§ 5-8. In these paragraphs Dem. repeats the request for an impartial hearing, but from a different standpoint. "What before he prayed that the gods would inspire the judges to do as a matter of piety and reputation, he now claims also as a right, while he enforces the claim by a combination of new considerations with the former ones; such as the greatness of the interest at stake, etc." LARNED. — κοινὸν εἶναι: while the *legal prosecution* was against Ctes., the *persecution* was aimed at Dem., and it was important for the orator to emphasize at the outset the fact that his own personal interests were involved in this issue. — πάντων: in the sense of οὐτισοῦν = cujusvis, as is seen fr. the opposition in μάλιστα, κ. τ. ἐ. In a similar sense πανταχοῦ, § 81. — ἄλλως τε κἄν = both otherwise and especially if. — φιλανθρωπίας: a virtue by wh. the Athen. considered themselves distinguished from the Spartans and others. An adroit appeal to Athen. vanity. So Dem. c. Lept., § 109.

§ 6. ἀξιώ και δέομαι, I request (as a right) and beseech. Rhetorical fullness or emphasis. Dem. seems fond of using pairs of words nearly synonymous. Dissen gives the following instances fr. this oration, besides the one above: ἐτραγῶδει και διεξῆει, § 13; κατεψεύδου και διέβαλλες, § 11; βοᾶν και διαμαρτύρεσθαι, § 23; δηλοῖ και διορίζεται, § 40; προύλεγον και διεμαρτυρόμην, § 45; οὐκ ὀνειδίζειν οὐδὲ λοιδορεῖσθαι, § 274; λοιδορούμενος και δια-

σύρων, § 180 ; πολεμῆν καὶ διαφέρεισθαι, § 31 ; προορώμενος καὶ λογιζόμενος, § 27 ; μηδ' προορᾶν μηδ' αἰσθάνεσθαι, § 40 ; εἰδῶς καὶ ἑωρακῶς, § 248 ; βοῶν καὶ κεκράγῶς, § 132 ; εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀπαγγεῖλαι, § 33 ; ζώντων καὶ ὄντων, § 72 ; ἐδίδαξας καὶ διεξήλθες, § 22 ; διέβαλλε καὶ διεξήει, § 14. The student should be careful to give the *exact* meaning of these terms so as to bring out the shades of difference in thought doubtless intended by the orator. — ὁμοίως belongs to πάντων, as in §§ 61, 208. — δικαίως, *impartially*. Observe the emphatic position as far away as possible fr. its verb ἀκούσαι. Its force is more fully explained by ὡσπερ, κ. τ. ἐ. — ὁ τιθεῖς, *the legislator, the founder*. So below, τοὺς δικάζοντας, ὁ διώκων, τῷ φεύγοντι, etc. are used substantively. — ἐξ ἀρχῆς : “*originally*, not as the earliest lawgiver, but as the most influential. Hence τιθεῖς, wh. is strictly of one despotic lawgiver, whereas τιθέμενος is of a republic or community.” HOLMES. — Σόλων is lauded also by Æsch., § 257. — δημοτικός is defined by Æsch., § 168 ; cf. § 122 of our oration. — τῷ γράψαι : γράφειν νόμον = generally to propose a law in the popular assembly ; but it may also mean, as here, to record or register by engraving on tablets or pillars of stone or brass. So *Phil.*, III. § 41 : εἰς στήλην χαλκὴν γράψαντες. Transl. *thought it proper should be made supreme, not simply by recording them, but also by putting the jurors under oath*. — τοὺς δικάζοντας : most editt. add ὑμᾶς, but the use of ὑμῖν before and after this sentence makes ὑμᾶς superfluous. Besides, Solon’s legislation on this point applied to *all* times and cases ; hence the orator first makes the general statement and then considers the application of this rule to the present case in the words : οὐκ ἀπιστῶν ὑμῖν, κ. τ. ἐ.

§ 7. φαίνεται = *it is evident*, different fr. δοκεῖ = *it seems*, in the best period of Greek. — αἰτίας : αἰτία is defined by Dem. c. *Androt.*, § 22, as a charge or accusation unsupported by proof, resting on the barren word of the accuser. It differs not widely fr. διαβολή = *calumny*. — αἷς ἐκ... ἰσχύει, *by which the prosecutor, on account of his speaking first, is formidable*. For use of πρότερος cf. H. 619, a ; G. 926 ; C. u. § 361. 8. — διώκων (= *prosecutor, Scotch pursuer*), φεύγοντι (= *defendant*), παρελθεῖν (= *to outstrip, to go by*), suggest the figure of a race. — καὶ...καὶ : correlated, connect the parts of the protasis. — τὰ δίκαια = *the legal arguments*, the points wh. the defendant may adduce for his defence. — ἴσον... κοινὸν = *impartial, common*. That the two qualities may be distinguished is seen in Plat. *Protag.* 68 ; Eurip. *Orest.* 9 : κοινῆς τραπέζης ἀξιῶμ' ἔχων ἴσον. — οὕτω, *thus* ; sc. after having furnished himself, etc. Diss. calls attention to the fact that the rhythm and weight of the sentence require διαγνώσιν ποιεῖσθαι, rather than the less emphatic διαγιγνώσκειν.

§ 8. ὡς ἔοικε : added not so much by way of sarcasm, as the Schol. believes, as to express caution on account of the general and broad assertion



involved in παντός. — παρακαλέσαι, to call upon or summon, as if coadjutors. — ὑπάρξαι μοι: the corresponding sentence in § 1 has παρ' ὑμῶν, wh. is omitted here by Σ. Most Editt. follow the other MSS. in adding it. — τοῦτο refers to the sentence introduced by ὅτι and is obj. of γινῶναι, the whole depending on παραστήσαι, wh. in turn depends on εὔχομαι. Most Editt. insert τοὺς θεοὺς after παραστήσαι as its subj. V. thinks this repetition would give a false meaning to the passage, as though the orator did not supplicate both ὑπάρξαι and παραστήσαι from the gods. For similar omission of subj. w. infin. cf. § 141. — γραφῆς: cf. Lex. II. B. — On the structure of this exordium cf. Arist. *Rhet.*, XIV. 3. It may be considered with reference to (1) the prosecutor, (2) the jury, (3) the defendant himself. It answers all the ends of a perfect exordium, which aims, as Quintilian says, “reddere auditores benevolos, attentos, dociles.” The prayer at its beginning and close is a fitting refutation of the calumny of Æsch., who had represented Dem. as a contemner of the gods and of divine omens.

#### FIRST DIVISION OF THE ORATION.

§§ 9–52. CHARGES FOREIGN TO THE INDICTMENT. (a) OF A PRIVATE NATURE (§§ 10, 11). (b) OF A PUBLIC NATURE (§§ 12–52).

§§ 9–11. INTRODUCTION OF THE TOPIC AND DEFENCE OF PRIVATE LIFE. ἰδίωκεν...κατηγόρησεν: διώκειν is said of the *legal prosecution*, κατηγορεῖν of the *oral accusation* before the court. Cf. § 15 κατηγορεῖ, κρίνει. — προβουλευμάτος, *preliminary decree*, i. e. an approval on the part of the Senate (βουλή) of a bill, wh. could then be brought before the Assembly (ἐκκλησία) for ratification; receiving wh., it became a ψήφισμα. In the present instance, Ctes. had introduced a bill that Dem. should be rewarded w. a golden crown for certain public services. From the Senate the bill went before the Assembly; but before it was acted upon there, Æsch. brought an action called γραφή παρανόμων, *indictment for proposing measures contrary to law*, against Ctes., and thus prevented it from becoming a decree (ψήφισμα). — κατηγόρησεν...ἂν ἀπελογούμεν: cf. G M T. 410 and 413; H. 895; G. 1397; Cu. § 537. Explain the difference in the use of the tenses. — κατεψεύσατό μου: for the genit. cf. H. 752; G. 1123; Cu. § 424. — τοῖς ἐξωθεν λόγοις, *criminationibus a causa alienis*, Diss.; *by those irrelevant statements*. — ἡγμένος = παρηγμένος. — ἄλλοτριώτερον: the Schol. says = ἐξωτερικώτερον, i. e. *with an estranged or prejudiced mind*. — τῶν...δικαίων...μου: critics are not agreed whether to understand τῶν δικαίων as genit. w. ἀκοή and μου as possess., or as genit. of separation w. ἄλλοτριώτερον (*somewhat estranged from what is just* under the influence of τοῖς ἐξωθεν λόγοις) and μου governed by ἀκοή. The



latter seems preferable on account of the sense and the position of μου. — ὑπὲρ = περί here. The distinction between these prepp. lies in the fact that ὑπὲρ originally implies the *interest* or *advantage* of the thing or person *concerning* wh. anything is, or is said. In the orators this distinction is first lost sight of, and the prepp. are easily interchanged. Cf. ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων, § 10; ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπολιτευμένων, § 11; ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου, § 76.

§ 10. **λοιδορούμενος βεβλασφήμηκε**: the nice distinctions between the words employed by Dem. to denote *slander*, *accusation*, *calumny*, *invective* (cf. §§ 123, 126), should be carefully observed; *λοιδορία* is the more general term for *invective*, *βλασφημία* is more specific and concrete, and denotes the *scandals* or *slanders* uttered by a calumniator. — ἀπλᾶ καὶ δίκαια, st. ἀπλῶς καὶ δικαίως, wh. are used in § 58. — τοιοῦτον, sc. ὄντα; cf. § 277. The supplementary partic. ὣν is often thus omitted by the orators; cf. Madv. § 178, Rem. 4; K. § 310, Rem. 5. — ἀνάσχησθε...καταψηφίσασθε: what is there in the form of this prohibition and command that gives special emphasis? Follow in transl., as nearly as possible, the order of the Greek. Lord B. renders this spirited sentence thus: “*but rise up this instant and condemn me.*” — βελτίω καὶ ἐκ βελτιόνων: a standing formula among the Greeks; similar are ἀγαθὸς ἐξ ἀγαθῶν, ἄριστος ἐξ ἀρίστων. — τῶν μετρίων, of the average or respectable class. State the argument of Dem. in this sentence. — ἦν...ἐνδέδειχθε...παράσχησθε: for this constr. cf. H. 995; G. 1037; Cu. § 597. 3.

§ 11. **κακοήθης...εὐήθης φήθης**: a play upon words wh. is inimitable in Engl. Jacobs renders it by *argmüthig ... gutmüthig*. Dem. makes but sparing use of the Paronomasia, as it was called by the rhetoricians, and only where the thought is made more prominent by it. Cf. § 267; so c. *Aristocr.* § 202: ἀνθρώπους οὐκ ἐλευθέρους ἀλλ' ὀλέθρους; Phil., I. § 24: ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀκολουθεῖ; vid. Rehdantz's Dem., IX. § 18, for many more illustrations. Spengel remarks that Æsch. has nowhere made any such statement, and that this is simply an artifice of Dem. by wh. he would have it appear that he does not shun the direct issue. — πομπείας: a metaphor taken from the ribald jokes and abusive epithets uttered by those who rode in chariots in the procession (πομπεία) of the Anthesterian festival. For a specimen cf. Aristoph. *Ran.*, 416 ff. — ἀνέδη, *recklessly*. — ἀν...ἀκούειν ἤ: the uncertain position of ἀκούειν in the best MSS. (some placing it, as here, after β., others after τουτοισί) leads some critics to look upon it as an interpolation. In *Orat. pro Megal.*, § 3, the approved reading is ὑστερον, ἀν ὑμῖν βουλομένοις ἤ, δείξω, without ἀκούειν. For constr. cf. H. 771, a; G. 1584; Cu. § 435. The tact of the orator in adding, *if it shall please you to listen*, is manifest.

§§ 12–17. INTRODUCTION TO THE PUBLIC MATTERS IRRELEVANT TO

THE INDICTMENT. In this paragraph Dem. aims to prove the personal malice of this prosecution by pointing out its *indirectness* and *futility*. — **πολλά**, sc. *ἐστίν*. — **ἐνίων** defines and limits the preced. gen. ὦν as an appositive. Cf. Thuc., I. 6 : *ἐτι δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἔστιν οἷς* ; Dem. *de F. L.*, § 260 : *τὰς γὰρ ἀκροπόλεις αὐτῶν ἐνίων Μακεδόνες φρουροῦσιν*. — **αὕτη**, sc. *ἐστίν*. So most Editt., in opposition to most of the MSS. wh. read *αὐτή*. We understand Dem. to mean this : “ My opponent is not heaping charges upon me in order that I may be punished according to law, but his motive is this,” etc. — **ἐχθροῦ μὲν** is the protasis of *τῶν μέντοι κατηγοριῶν*, *μέντοι* being in antithesis to *μὲν*. — **ἐπήρειαν** : “ a malicious disposition to injure others without gaining any profit one’s self.” — **ὑβριν** has reference to contumelious acts ; **λοιδορίαν**, to contumelious words. — **τῶν κατηγοριῶν**, κ. τ. ἐ., constr. w. *δίκην ἀξίαν*. — The argument of this and the following section runs thus : If the state cannot administer a befitting punishment so as to meet the ends of justice, a prosecution becomes a malicious persecution. This the state cannot do where the defendant has no opportunity of making a proper defence. This opportunity Æsch. has taken away from Dem. in three ways : (1) by bringing the indictment against Ctes. and not against Dem. personally ; (2) by bringing the charges so long time after the alleged misdeeds ; (3) by failing to make these charges definite and specific.

§ 13. **τὸ προσελθεῖν**, κ. τ. ἐ. : obj. of *ἀφαιρεῖσθαι*, wh. takes two accusatives (cf. H. 724 ; G. 1069 ; Cu. § 402 ; the personal obj., wh. by implication is Dem., being omitted. The omitted subj. of *ἀφαιρεῖσθαι* is Æsch. — The phrase **τὸ προσελθεῖν τῷ δήμῳ** = *to come before the popular assembly as a speaker*. — **λόγου τυχεῖν**, *to obtain a hearing*. By this indirect mode of attack, Æsch. compelled Dem. to defend his public policy in the *court* instead of in the *ecclesia*, and as the advocate of another instead of simply in his own defence. — **ἐν...τάξει**, *in the rank or quality of*. For various uses of *τάξις*, cf. §§ 63, 173, 192. — **πολιτικόν**, lit. *what pertains to a πολίτης* ; *statesmanlike*, Lord B. ; *constitutional*, Kenn. — **ἄλλ’** : Æsch. was in fault in two ways : in doing what he ought not to have done, *οὐ γὰρ*, κ. τ. ἐ. ; and in *not* doing what was right, sc. to prefer these charges directly and regularly, *ἄλλ’ ἐφ’ οἷς*, κ. τ. ἐ. — **ἐτραγῳδαί** : the allusions of the orator to the earlier career of Æsch. as an actor, are neither complimentary nor infrequent. Cf. *ὑποκρίνεται* below ; *διεξιῶν*, § 41, and many more instances. — **παρ’ αὐτὰ τὰδικήματα**, *during or at the very time of* (*παρά* = *alongside of*) *the misdeeds*. This use of *παρά* w. accus. is frequent in the orators ; cf. L. and S. sub v. II. — **χρησθαι**, sc. *ἔδει* from *δεῖ* above. — **εἰσαγγελίας** : the *εἰσαγγελία* here meant was an extraordinary action of *impeachment* brought directly before the Senate or Assembly, for special or

peculiar violations of law not provided for in the ordinary courts. Cf. Meier and Schöm. *Att. Proc.*, p. 260 ff. — **τούτον τὸν τρόπον**, i. e. in the peculiar way of the *εἰσαγγελία*. — **γράφοντα...γραφόμενον**: *γράφειν* = *to propose*; *γράφεσθαι* = *to indict*. — **παράνομα**, lit. *laws contrary to existing ones*; *unconstitutional measures* is a fair rendering. — **παράνομων**: for the nature and operation of the action called *γραφὴ παρανόμων*, cf. *Diet. Antiq.* sub voce; Meier and Schöm. *Att. Proc.*, 282; Schöm. *Greek Antiq.*, p. 483. — **οὐ γὰρ...δύναται...ἐγράψατο**: the force of *οὐ* extends over both parts of the sentence. Cf. §§ 16 and 288 for a similar use of the negat. *Transl. for it cannot be that, etc...but that he would not have indicted, etc.* — **δὲ ἐμέ**: how diff. fr. *δὲ ἐμοῦ*? Cf. note on *δὲ οὖς*, § 35. — **ἐμὲ...αὐτὸν**: cf. § 279. — **εἰ περ...ἐνόμιζεν...οὐκ ἂν ἐγράψατο**: cf. G M T. 410; H. 895; G. 1397; Cu. §§ 537, 541. Account for the diff. of tense in the protasis and apodosis.

§ 14. **ἀγῶνες καὶ κρίσεις**, *trials and verdicts*; these are the practical application of *νόμοι* and *τιμωρίαι*. — **ὅπηνίκα ἐφαίνετο...ὠμολογεῖτο ἂν**: same form of cond. sent. as above in § 13, except that the relat. adv. *ὅπηνίκα* introduces the condition. — **τοῖς...πρὸς ἐμέ**, *the legal remedies applicable to my case*.

§ 15. **τοσοῦτοις...χρόνοις**: the events connected with the peace of Philocrates 16 years ago, and those connected with the Phocian war 25 years ago. — **ὑποκρίνεται**, *he acts a part*, i. e. he plays an underhand part in prosecuting Ctes. while really aiming at me. — **εἶτα**, *then, thereupon*, denotes sequence in thought or narration. — **προϊσταται**, *puts in the foreground*; not as a pretence or screen here, but as the real cause. — **οὐδαμοῦ**: in § 251 Dem. boasts that Æsch. had never brought a single action against him personally. — **ἑτέρου**: difference between *ἕτερος* and *ἄλλος*? The genit. is one of separation. — **ἐπιτιμίαν**: if Ctes., in case of conviction, should be unable to pay the fine (*τίμημα*) of 50 talents, he would fall into *ἀτιμία* until the fine was discharged.

§ 16. **καίτοι**: a word of frequent occurrence. The part. *τοι* has generally an *intensive* or *additive* force; = *and verily, and furthermore*. — **πρὸς w. dat.** = *in addition to*. — **ἂν...ἔχοι**: potent. optat.; cf. G M T. 235; H. 872; G. 1327, 1328; Cu. § 517, Obs. 1. — **ἂν λέγειν** = either *ἂν ἔλεγεν*, *one could be saying* (but he does not), or, what seems more in harmony w. *ἔχοι* above, *ἂν λέγοι*, *one might say* (if he would). — **τὸν ἐξετασμὸν ποιεῖσθαι**: spoken of the litigants, while of the judges the phrase *τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἐξέτασι ποιήσῃ* is used in § 226. — **οὐ** belongs to the whole sent. *τὸ μὲν...ἀγωνίεσθαι...ἑτέρῳ δ'...ἡγεῖν*, and implies the repetition of *δίκαιον ἦν*. — **ἑτέρῳ...ὅτῳ**: for the sake of emphasis st. *ἕτερον ὅτῳ* by inverse attraction. Cf. H. 1003; G. 1035; Cu. § 602.

§ 17. ἐπ' ἀληθείας οὐδεμίας, *based upon, with regard for no truth.* For similar use of ἐπί w. genit. cf. §§ 22, 226, 294. — ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης: the often referred to peace of Philocrates. Cf. Grote, Ch. LXXXIX. — τῆς πρεσβείας: the second embassy to Philip, for the purpose of receiving his oath to the peace agreed upon and sworn to by the Athenians. This embassy is known as ἡ παραπρεσβεία, and forms the theme of two orations by the rival orators. — ἴσως, in Attic usage generally means *probably, likely.* — κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους, *throughout those times.*

§§ 18-52. EXAMINATION OF CHARGES MADE WITH REFERENCE TO THE NEGOTIATION OF THE PEACE OF PHILOCRAATES (§§ 18-24), AND THE SECOND EMBASSY TO PHILIP (§§ 25-52). τοῦ...Φωκικοῦ...πολέμου: for an account of this war, sometimes called also the Sacred War, through wh. Philip obtained the long-coveted opportunity of intermeddling in the affairs of the Greeks, cf. Grote, Ch. LXXXVII.; Smith's *Hist. of Greece*, Ch. XLII. — συστάτος, *having been organized.* “*συνιστάναι* is to organize either for good or evil. The orator wishes to impute external agency, originating in Macedon or at Athens, as the prime cause of the Phocian outbreak.” HOLMES. — οὐ δὲ ἐμὲ: Dem. disclaims having had anything to do with stirring up this war. Wh. joins these words w. οὐτῶ διέκεισθε, as if the orator would deny that he had prejudiced the feelings or warped the judgment of his fellow-citizens against the Thebans. But this seems uncalled for, since this prejudice against the Thebans was of long standing and generally understood. For allusions to this feeling cf. Dem. Oratt. 1. 26; 3. 8; 5. 15; 14. 33; 20. 109. — τότε: the first *public* speech of Dem. (*c. Androtion*) was delivered in 355 B. C., and the first *political* speech (*de Symmoriis*) a year later; but the difficulties wh. terminated in the Phocian War commenced in 357. The student will notice that Dem. regards as irrelevant (οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐμὲ) all that precedes his own political ascendancy, i. e. about 343 B. C. Cf. §§ 21, 60, and the note on § 60. — σωθῆναι: Athens, by reason of her hatred of Thebes and ancient friendship for the Phocians, though furnishing no active assistance, sympathized w. the Phocians. — κάπερ... ὄρωντες: “This refers to the plunder of the Delphian temple; and we may notice w. what nice sense of decorum the orator speaks of the Phocians, who had been ancient allies of the Athenians, but whose conduct in plundering the temple of Delphi was condemned throughout the Grecian world.” LARNED. — Θεβαίοις...παθοῦσιν, *but that you would have been delighted at the Thebans suffering everything.* For ἄν w. infin. cf. G M T. 207; H. 964; G. 1308; Cu. §§ 575, 576. — οἷς...ἐν Λεύκτροις: at the battle of Leuctra, 371 B. C., the Thebans, under Epaminondas, gained the victory over the Spartans, and established their supremacy (ἡγεμονία), wh. lasted until their overthrow



in the battle of Mantinea, 362 B. C. During this period *they had not used with moderation* the advantages of their position. In their arrogance they had deprived Orchomenos, Thespiæ, and Plataea of their *αὐτονομία*, and invested the city of Oropus, an act that was especially distasteful to Athens. Diod. Sic. XV. 79, speaks of the "Leucetric insolence" of the Thebans. — **ἐπειθ'**: not temporal, but sequential here, as indicating the next item in the enumeration of facts. — **δισειστήκει**, plupf., to indicate the resulting state or condition, *was in a state of faction*. — **οἱ μισοῦντες**: sc. the Messenians, Arcadians, Argives, Sicyonians. — **οἱ πρότερον... ἄρχοντες**: the hated *Harmosts* that had been placed in command over several cities by Lysander immediately upon the close of the Pelopon. War. Cf. Xen. *Hellen.*, III. 5. 13; Isocr. *Panegy.*, p. 36. — **ἄκριτος**: *promiscuous and interminable*; a single word hardly renders it. Cf. *Il.*, II. 796: the *μῦθοι ἄκριτοι* of Priam; id. III. 412: the *ἄχρα ἄκριτα* of Helen. — Diss. calls attention to the graceful structure of this last period. First the general statement, *ἡ Π. δισειστήκει*; then the explanation and description by the parts introduced by *καί*; finally the summing up of the whole idea in stronger terms, *ἀλλά τις, κ. τ. ἐ.*

§ 19. **χρήματα ἀναλίσκων**, *by lavishing money*. Philip's skill in the use of bribes became proverbial. Cf. Horace *Od.*, Bk. III., XVI. 13. By his conquests in Thrace he had obtained possession of the gold-mines of Crenides, wh. are said (cf. Böekh, *Publ. Econ. Athen.*, p. 10) to have yielded him an annual revenue of 1000 talents. — **αὐτοῦς** = *ἀλλήλους*; cf. H. 686; G. 996; Cu. § 473. — **εἰτ'**, *then*, denoting sequence. — **ἐν οἷς, κ. τ. ἐ.**: the sense is that *by means of the errors and follies of others* he was advancing his own interests. — **κατὰ**, *against*, with hostile intent. — **ταλαιπωρούμενοι**: deriv.? — **τοῦ πολέμου**: the Phocian War, wh. lasted about 10 years. — **τότε... βαρεῖς**: because the memory of their supremacy was still fresh. — **νῦν... ἀτυχεῖς**: in 335 B. C. Alexander razed Thebes to the ground and sold many of its inhabitants into slavery. Æsch., in alluding to the fate of this city, says in his *Orat. c. Ctes.*, § 133: *Θῆβαι δέ, Θῆβαι πόλις ἀστυγείτων, μεθ' ἡμέραν μίαν ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνῆρπασται.*

§ 20. **τί οὖν, κ. τ. ἐ.**: Dionys. Halic., *περὶ Ἰσαίου*, § 13, remarks that no orator has made such frequent and forcible use of the rhetorical question as Dem. *What then co-operated with him in ensnaring you* as his almost willing dupes? — **ἡ τῶν ἄλλων Ἔ.**: the art. agrees w. the nom. implied in *κακίαν* and *ἀγνοίαν*. *The — shall I call it baseness or ignorance of the rest of the Greeks?* Cf. § 271 for a similar turn. — **πόλεμον συνεχῆ**: the entire period of hostilities from the capture of Amphipolis in 357 B. C. until the peace of Philocrates, 346 B. C. — **σώμασιν**, *men, troops*. — **διὰ ταῦτ'**: Dem., in attempting to free himself from the responsibility of bringing about this peace, skilfully avoids incurring the ill-feeling of the judges and the people,



by throwing the blame upon the *circumstances* and the state of public affairs existing at the time, rather than upon the people themselves. But, not satisfied with this, he adds very adroitly, that it was not the peace after all, but the corruption of the men engaged in its negotiation, that was the cause of the present troubles. — **ἐν αὐτῇ** : not *during it*, but *in relation to it*, i. e. in the transactions connected w. the peace. — **ἀν...ἐξετάζη...εὐρήσει** : cf. G M T. 444 ; H. 898 ; G. 1403 ; Cu. § 545.

§ 21. **ἀκριβολογοῦμαι καὶ διεξέρχομαι**, *subtilius persequor et commemoro*, V. ; *weighing and sifting*, Lord B. ; *faithful and exact detail of this whole transaction*, Leland. This might be added to the instances of rhetorical pleonasm enumerated in note on § 6. With respect to these pleonasms Diss. remarks the simplicity of the Greek as compared w. the elaborate ornateness of Cicero, who not only uses such amplifications more frequently, but often joins words employed figuratively to those used in a literal sense. — **εἰ...ὄκοινη...έστι** : a mixed cond. sent. Is this combination of moods common ? Cf. G M T. 500 ; H. 901 ; G. 1421 ; Cu. § 549. — **τὰ μάλιστα** : adverb. accus., modifying *ἀδίκημα εἶναι* ; the sense is *supposing the wrong to be ever so great*. — **Ἀριστόδημος** : a celebrated actor who was sent by the Athenians as envoy to Philip, by whom he was greatly esteemed, to treat for the release of Athen. prisoners of war, who had been captured at the taking of Olynthus. Upon his return, Aristodemus reported to the Assembly the friendly feeling of Philip towards the Athenians, and his desire to enter into an alliance w. them. — **τούτου**, sc. *Æsch.* ; cf. *ὄστος*, § 20. The opposite party in a suit is generally referred to by this demonstrative. — **Ἀγνούσιος** : Hagnus was the name of the deme to wh. Philocrates belonged. — **οὐδ' ἄν...ψευδόμενος**, *not even though you should burst with lying*, Kenn. The allusion is to the violent tones of *Æsch.*, wh. Dem. often ridicules. — **Εὐβουλος** : one of the foremost politicians of this period, a friend of *Æsch.* and of the Macedonian party. His financial policy, particularly in leading the state to set apart large sums for the Theoric Fund (cf. note § 55), contributed not a little towards rendering the state bankrupt and demoralizing the people. — **Κηφισοφῶν** : mentioned in the psephisma, § 29, as one of the envoys sent to Philip ; of the deme Rhamnus ; probably the same person who is mentioned by *Æsch. de F. L.*, § 73, as a Paranian and one of the friends of Chares. Cf. A. Schaefer, *Dem. und seine Zeit*, II. p. 182. — **ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ** : this is a flat contradiction of the statement of *Æsch.* in the subjoined extract. Dem. in his speech *de F. L.*, §§ 15–18, denies that he was in favor of the peace on the terms proposed by Philocrates. On this disputed point we may adopt the view of Grote (Ch. LXXXIX.) as being the one probably most correct : sc. that Dem. supported the proposal of Philocrates for peace and alliance w. Philip, except that special clause wh.

excluded the Phocians; that this clause was subsequently repudiated by the Assembly, but, when the treaty was sworn to, the Phocians, in violation of this action of the Assembly, were tacitly and practically excluded through the misrepresentations and false promises of Æsch. and his party (wh. are referred to in § 35 of our oration), and that it was against *this feature* of the treaty that Dem. protested, though not until it was too late. The statement then of Dem. before us is not *absolutely*, but only *relatively* true. That he should have been at this time in favor of a peace on *almost any terms* seems not so strange when we remember the state of the Athenian mind in this period: "repugnance to military cost and effort, sickness and shame at their past war with Philip, alarm from the prodigious success of his arms, and pressing anxiety to recover the captives taken at Olynthus." Grote. — "It was the hopelessness," says Niebuhr, "of expecting aid from the other states that justified Dem. in being a party to the peace of Philocrates."

§ 22. ἐπ'...ἀληθείας: cf. § 17. — ἄρα, *forsooth*; inferential particle often w. a tinge of irony, as here. — πρὸς τῷ...γεγενῆσθαι, *in addition to having become*. For πρὸς w. dat. cf. § 16. — αἴτιος, *the guilty cause*. The charge made by Æsch. was twofold: (1) Dem. was the author of the peace; (2) he concluded it apart from the confederacy of the allies. — καί, *also*. — κικλωκῶς εἶην: why the optat.? G M T. 669. 2; H. 932; G. 1487; Cu. § 528. Why *this* form of the optat.? — κοινουῦ συνεδρίου, *a general synod*, wh. met at Athens and was formed of the delegates of the new Athenian confederacy that had been constituted soon after the Peloponn. War. Cf. Grote, Ch. LXXVII.; Smith, Ch. XXXIX. — εἴτ' ᾧ: another instance of aposiopesis; cf. note § 3. — ἔστιν ὅπου σὺ παρῶν...ῥῶν...ἡγανάκτησας, *is there an occasion where you being present seeing me...expressed your indignation*. — παρελθὼν, lit. *passing along or by* (the audience), i. e. *coming forward* to the tribune or platform from wh. in ancient assemblies (as nowadays in the French and German parliaments) the speaker was wont to address the meeting.

§ 23. τὸ κωλύσαι: the use of the art. w. the infin. here and in τὸ σιγήσαι gives emphasis to the contrasted notions of these verbs, while the use of the aor., to indicate a single definite act, is in strong contrast to the pres. in βοᾶν, διαμαρτύρεσθαι, δηλοῦν. — ἐγὼ Φιλίππῳ: such juxtapositions for the sake of emphasis are frequent in Dem.; cf. §§ 255, 271. — σοί: observe its emphatic position. In the points just commented upon we have an illustration of the remarkable skill displayed by Dem. in the structure of his sentences. — τότε: after the fall of Olynthus, 347 B. C., embassies had been sent out by Athens to several of the Greek states in order to form a common league against Philip. Both orators confess that these embassies

were fruitless. Cf. *Æsch. de F. L.*, § 79. *Æsch.* charges his rival w. precipitating the negotiations of the peace so as to prevent the allies and confederates of Athens from participating in the treaty. The statements of the two orators upon this point are hopelessly conflicting. Professor Tyler adopts the conclusion of Grote, that not *all* the envoys had yet returned, but some were still absent when the peace was concluded. A. Schaeff., II. 200 ff. believes that all had returned, but that the states to which embassies had been sent, having declined to join Athens in a league against Philip, and being at peace with him, had of course no interest in the treaty now under consideration. However these points under dispute may be decided, there seems no doubt that the sentiments of *all had been thoroughly tested* (πάντες ἐξεληλεγμένοι), and were fully understood at Athens.

§ 24. *χωρὶς...ψεύδεται*: "Dem. not merely refutes, but makes the refutation an occasion of *attack*. We have already had examples in §§ 10, 11." LARNED. — *εἰ παρεκαλεῖτε...ἐπέμπετε...διεπράττεσθε*: cf. G M T. 402; H. 893; G. 1390; Cu. § 536. — *Εὐρυβάτου*: an Ephesian who was sent by Croesus into the Peloponnesus with money to raise mercenaries, and deserted to Cyrus, his rival. This name became proverbial for treachery and knavishness; thence is derived the verb *εὐρυβατεύεσθαι*. — *τί γὰρ καὶ β.*, for *with what desire even*. — *ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ*, at this juncture, i. e. while the Athenians were considering the terms of a peace w. Philip, the attempt to unite the Greek states against him having been abandoned. — *ἅπασιν*, i. e. to all whom the Athenians had asked to unite against Philip. — *ἀλλ'...ἔβουλεύεσθε*: a rhetorical syllogism whose conclusion is probable. For similar dilemmas cf. §§ 124, 125, 139, 196, 217. — *οὐκουν*: some MSS. read *οὐκοῦν*; what is the difference? — *ἐξ ἀρχῆς*: the *original* peace of Philocrates is by this designation distinguished from the peace of Demades made after Charonea. — *οὔτε...οὐδ'...οὔτε*: *οὐδὲ* is subordinate and emphatic, *οὔτε...οὔτε* being co-ordinate, *neither...nor even...nor*. It will be noticed how with the last *οὔτε* the orator adds an inference from the preceding, just as at the close of § 23 with *οἱθ' οὗτος ὑγιές, κ. τ. ἔ.* — *ῶν...ἔν*: for this partic. constr. cf. H. 981; G. 1588; Cu. §§ 590, 593.

§§ 25 - 41. PROCEEDINGS CONNECTED WITH THE RATIFICATION OF THE PEACE, AND ITS IMMEDIATE RESULTS. — *καὶ γὰρ*: not elliptical here, but *καὶ* in the sense of *also*, i. e. *also from these affairs*, just as from those above rehearsed. — *ἔγραψα βουλευῶν*, as senator moved a resolution. — *τὴν ταχίστην*: the importance of this haste is manifest. This motion was made by Dem. on the 3d of Munychion (April 29), some 7 days after Antipater as representative of Philip had taken the oath fr. the Athenians. — *ἄν...πυνθάνωνται*: st. *πυνθάνοιτο*, as it is more significant to give the words of the decree in a direct form. — *ἀπολαμβάνειν*: what is the force of *ἀπό* here? Cf. *ἀποδοῦναι* in § 26.

§ 26. **τί...ἡδύνατο**, *quod hoc sibi volebat?* Diss. *What was the intent of this* (sc. my resolution)? — **Φιλίππῳ μὲν...ὑμῖν δὲ**: the student will not fail to notice the balanced structure of this sentence. — **ἀφ' ἧς...ἡμέρας** = **ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμέρας ἧ'**. Cf. H. 995; G. 1037; Cu. § 597. 3. — **τοῦτο**: alludes to what? Reiske says to *ὡς πλείστον...τῶν ὄρκων*; but this interval of time between the oaths had itself for its ulterior aim the cessation from preparations for war on the part of the Athenians. With W., therefore, we make **τοῦτο** refer to **πάσας ἐξελύσατε**, κ. τ. ἐ. — **ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου**: ἐκ w. genit. expresses time from its first beginning, including the whole extent of the period until the end. Lit. *from all the time*, i. e. *from first to last*. Cf. § 203. — **ὅσα τῆς πόλεως**, *whatever possessions of the city*; referring particularly to Philip's conquests in Thrace of places in alliance w. Athens. — **προλάβοι**: cf. G M T. 532; H. 914 B; G. 1431. 2; Cu. § 555. The action in the partic. *νομίζων* is *repeated* or *continued*, i. e. in each case or all the while *surprising*.

§ 27. **ἐν οἷς ἂν ἦ**: cf. note on *ἂν πυνθάνωνται* above. — **ἔν'...γίγνοιθ'**: past purpose after *γράφω* an historic present; cf. G M T. 33; H. 828; G. 1252, 1268; Cu. § 487. — **διέσυρε**, *ridiculed*. The corresponding passage in Æsch. (§ 82) shows an intentional perversion of these names: as, *Μυρτίσκη* st. *Μυρτηρόν*; *Γανίδα*, wh. is simply a play upon the sound of *Γάνος*; *Σέρριον* is mentioned by Herod. VII. 59, and by Dem. *Phil.*, III. 16; Harporation in his *Lex.* mentions *Μυρτανόν* and *Ἐργίσκη*. — **οὔτω**, *under these circumstances*. — **τοὺς ἐπικαίρους**, *the favorably located ones*; alluding to the importance of these places in a military point of view, since they were situated in the vicinity of the Thracian Chersonesus, wh. belonged to the Athenians. — **πολλῶν χρημάτων**: cf. note § 19.

§ 28. **εἶτα**, *then* or *thereupon*, to indicate sequence of thought. — **οὐχὶ λέγει...ἀναγινώσκει**, *he does not cite, nor does he read*. The distinction between these verbs as indicated in our translation is not always maintained in the orators. Below, e. g. *λέγει* is used in the sense of *read* or *cause to be read*, and is addressed to the *γραμματεὺς* or clerk of the Archons. — **προσάγειν**, *to introduce*. "Foreign ambassadors were introduced to an audience with the people by a resolution of the Senate (cf. Æsch. *de F. L.*, § 58). Demosthenes as Senator moved that Philip's envoys should be introduced to the people for the purpose of discussing the conditions of the proposed peace." Wh. — **τοῦτό μου διαβάλλει**, *with this he taunts me*. For this genit. cf. H. 751; G. 1132; Cu. § 424. 8. Cf. § 299: *τὸν τειχισμὸν ὃν σύ μου διέσυρες*. — **μὴ**: this negat. introduces the whole question and expects the answer *no*, but its special force falls upon the nearest verb *προσάγειν*, *to propose not to introduce*, etc. — **διαλεχθῶσιν**: the subj. st. optat., for the sake of vividness of narration. Cf. G M T. 321; H. 881 a;



G. 1369 ; Cu. §§ 531. 1 ; 532, Obs. — **θείαν** : this was the so-called *προεδρία*, a distinction conferred upon the guests of the state by resolution of the Senate. — **τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα**, *the lessee of the theatre*, called also *θεατρῶνης*, *θεατροπόλης*, who paid a certain rent to the state, kept the buildings in repair, and received the entrance fees. — **ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν**, *in the two-obol seats*, i. e. the seats of the common people, for which two obols were paid. Cf. Bœckh. *Publ. Econ. Athen.*, p. 304. The price is put for the place, and the expression seems to be colloquial ; so *οἱ ἰχθύες* = *the fish-market*, *τὰ βιβλία* = *the book-market*. Some Editt. prefer to take ἐν w. the dat. as expressing means, i. e. *by the payment of two obols*. — **μικρά** : this word is not found in the original reading of Σ, and is therefore omitted by the Editt. of our text. In retaining it w. the other MSS. I am particularly influenced by the remark of V. that the word is necessary to express the antithesis to τὰ ὄλα. The orator means this : to exercise care over such small matters as the expenditure of a few obols or the bestowal of some attention upon the guests of the state, this, as compared w. guarding the general interests (τὰ ὄλα) of the state, is not worth the mention.

§ 29. **ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ** : there are in all 35 of these documents referred to in the course of the oration, of wh. 28 purport to be given in full and 7 are mentioned only by name. The fact that in most of the speeches of the Attic orators the documents are omitted, their names merely being given, has of itself awakened suspicion concerning the genuineness of those contained in this oration. It is sufficient for the practical purpose of the student to know that the majority of modern critics regard these documents as spurious. The internal evidence for this opinion will be given in the case of a few. Those who desire to weigh the arguments pro and con upon this long-disputed question, are referred to Professor Champlin's summary in an Appendix to his edition of this oration ; to the paper of Professor W. W. Goodwin on *The Chronology of some of the Events mentioned in Dem. on the Crown*, in the "Transactions of the Amer. Philol. Assoc., 1871, 1872" ; to Droysen in *Museum Rhenanum*, II., 1845 ; to Böhnecke's *συναγωγή ψηφισμάτων* in Vol. II. of his *Untersuchungen*, Berlin, 1843 ; to Vœmel's 5 treatises, published in 1841-1845 ; to Bœckh's *de Archontibus Pseudonymis* ; and to Westermann's *Untersuchungen über die in die Attischen Redner eingelegten Urkunden*. A fresh argument against the genuineness of these documents, based upon the enumeration of the *στίχοι* or lines in the MSS., is given by the Editor in the "Proceedings of the Amer. Philol. Assoc. for 1874-1875." The inconsistencies of the following document are these : **Μνησιφίλου** : this decree was passed in 347 B. C., the year before the peace, and *Themistocles* was archon for that year. — **ἑκατομβαιῶνος** : from *Æsch. de F. L.*, § 92, we learn that it was passed on the 3d of Munychion.



— Πανδιονίδος : acc. to Æsch. *de F. L.*, § 82, Dem. was the πρόεδρος or president for the day. But acc. to Schöm. (*Greek Antiq.*, p. 399) the προεδρι were chosen by the ἐπιστάτης of the Prytanes (for explanation of these terms cf. *Dict. Antiq.*) from the nine tribes which were not in the prytany; hence, if Dem. was προεδρος, the tribe of Pandionis to which he belonged could not have been in the prytany at this time. — δεδόχθαι, *be it moved or resolved.* — τῷ δήμῳ : from Dem. *de F. L.*, § 154, we learn that the δῆμος had given the βουλή absolute power to pass decrees for the time being without this sanction; consequently the δῆμος had nothing to do w. this decree. — πρώτη : Dem. *de F. L.*, § 15, says : εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἐν ᾗ τὴν εἰρήνην ἔδει κυροῦσθαι; and Æsch. *de F. L.*, § 61, mentions the 18th and 19th of Elaphebolion as the days of the Assembly; and Dem., *l. c.* § 57, says, the peace was adopted on the 19th (the second day of the Assembly). — πέντε : the number was ten. Cf. Æsch. *de F. L.*, § 97. — ὑπερβολὴν, *delay*; not so used in classical Greek. — δοῦναι : the Athenians had already given their oath. Cf. §§ 25, 26. — Εὐβουλος, κ. τ. ἐ. : Eubulus and Æsch. are well known, but the other names are probably fictitious, being found nowhere else except in the spurious γραφή, § 55, where Κη. and Κλ. figure as witnesses. In Dem. *de F. L.*, § 229, the names of 4 of these envoys are given : Φιλοκράτης, Αἰσχίνης, Φρόνων, Δημοσθένης.

§ 30. γράψαντος...ζητούντος, *although I had proposed...and was seeking.* The student will observe the difference of time expressed by these partic. — χρῆστοι : ironical; cf. §§ 89, 318. — τρεῖς ὅλους μῆνας : this is the whole time of the absence of the envoys. They took the tedious land route from *Oreus* to *Macedonia*, were 23 days on the way, and remained 27 days at Pella awaiting the return of Philip fr. Thrace. Cf. Dem. *de F. L.*, § 155. — ἐξόν : accus. absol.; cf. H. 973; G. 1569; Cu. § 586. — τριῶν ἢ τετάρων : W. states that in this time one could go by water from Pella to any point of the Hellespont, and that in a direct line the distance was no greater than fr. Athens to Ephesus, to accomplish which three days were allowed. — παρόντων ἡμῶν = εἰ ἡμεῖς παρήμεν; cf. G M T. 841; H. 971 b; G. 1563. 5; Cu. § 584. *If we had been present*, i. e. we, the Athenians, represented by the envoys. — ἀν...εἶχε : the impf. to indicate that Philip was still holding the places. Critics call attention to the skill of the orator in stating the same fact from several points of view. This decree, e. g., is considered w. reference to (1) *its cause*; (2) *the end in view*; (3) *the result that followed its neglect*; (4) *the result that would have followed from its observance.*

§ 31. τὸ μὲν...πρῶτον : observe that the antithesis is found in ἕτερον δ' below, and that within the compass of this sentence there is a subordinate antithesis between κλέμμα μὲν and δωροδόκημα δὲ. — δωροδόκημα, *piece of*

*venality*. L. and S. give only the concrete meaning *bribe*. Cf. *κακούργημα* = *piece of villany*. — *τῶν ἀδίκων τούτων ἀνθρώπων*: the spondaic rhythm of this sentence adds to its weight. — *καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ ὁμολογῶ*, κ. τ. ἐ., *I avow that I not only then was, but now am, and ever shall be, at war and at variance*. — *εὐθὺς ἐφεξῆς*, *directly next in order*; modifying the idea of *κακούργημα*, i. e. that wh. occurred immediately after the *δωροδόκημα* mentioned above.

§ 32. *ἀπίωμεν*: this is the reading of Σ and other MSS. of the better class. By the use of the *first* person in distinction fr. *αὐτῶν*, wh. refers to Æsch. and his party, the orator intimates that while he was a member of the embassy he was not implicated in the guilt of this delay. For the use of the subj. after *ὤνεϊται* histor. pres. cf. G M T. 318; H. 881 a; G. 1369; Cu. § 531 a, b. V. and W. read *ἀπιμεν*, wh. is found in Bekk. Anecd. p. 129; this is then taken as a future, cf. G M T. 339; H. 885; G. 1372; Cu. §§ 500, 553. — *ποιήσαιτο*: the optat. is regular after histor. pres. (*ὤνεϊται*). — *ἀπαγγειλάντων ἡμῶν* = *εἰ ἡμεῖς ἀπηγγείλαμεν*; the indic. to denote that the condition is assumed as real. — *μέλλει... παρασκευάζε-ται*: the pres. indic. states the fact in the *direct* narration. Give the Greek forms in the *indirect* narration. — *Πύλας*: cf. L. and S. II. 2. — *πρότερον*: after Philip had overrun Thessaly, he attempted, in the summer of 352 B. C., to effect a union with the Thebans against the Phocians; but he was unexpectedly frustrated by the Athenians, who sent an expedition under Nausicles to guard the pass of Thermopylae. Cf. Grote, Ch. LXXXVII. — *τὸν τόπον*, *the region*, i. e. *the pass*. The comm. reading is *πορθμόν*, wh. is not only contrary to Σ, but also erroneous in sense, since Philip's army was almost wholly a *land* force, and it was the *land* passage that was to be barred to his entrance.

§ 33. *οὕτω*: join w. *φόβῳ καὶ πολλῇ ἀγωνίᾳ*, *was in so great fear and anxiety that*. In like manner *πολύς*, though expressed but once, is understood with two subst. in § 209: *ναῦς καὶ πολλοὺς ἵππους*; in Lysias 30. 26: *χρήματα καὶ πολλὰς εἰσφοράς*. W. — *καὶ*: strongly concessive, *even though*. — *τοῦ... ἀπολέσθαι*: what kind of time is indicated by the aor. infin.? Cf. G M T. 96; H. 851; G. 1272; Cu. § 495 b, Obs. — *βοηθεῖν*, sc. *τοῖς Φωκεύ-σιν*, wh. is retained by V. from the reading of Σ, but other Editt. omit as superfluous. — *μισθοῦται*: what is the distinction between the indic. and the infin. after *ὥστε*? Cf. G M T. 582; H. 927; G. 1450; Cu. § 565. — *τὸν... τουτονί*: the demonstr. force of the *ι* borders upon contempt, like the Lat. *iste*. *This despicable fellow here present*.

§ 34. *μνησθαι*, sc. *ὑμᾶς*; a similar omission of the subj. of the infin. is found in §§ 17, 229. — *μὴ κατηγορήσαντος μηδὲν* = *εἰ μὴ κατηγορήσεν μηδὲν*; cf. note § 30. — *ἕτερον*, in the sense of *ἀλλότριον* = *irrelevant*. Cf.

ἔπερος ὁ λόγος οὗτος, § 44. — **πάσαις** : in the sense of *παντοίαις*. — **αἰτίαις καὶ βλασφημίαις**, *charges and calumnies = calumnious charges*. Cf. *αἰτίαις καὶ διαβολαῖς*, § 7. — **ἅμα**, *at the same time* ; with the accusations contained in the indictment. Where previously has Dem. cast upon his opponent the blame of departing from the actual points at issue ?

§ 35. **παρὰ**, *from*, st. *ὑπό*, to indicate an idea of source. — **δι' οὓς** = *propter quæ verba*, denoting cause : **δι' ὧν** = *quibus verbis*, denoting instrument. — **ὡς οὐ δεῖ** : the direct form of narration to give vividness. — **ἔσται... ἐὰν ἔχηθ'** : cf. G M T. 444 ; H. 898 ; G. 1403 ; Cu. § 545. — **οἷς μὲν** : the Phocians ; **οἷς δὲ** : the Thebans. — **οὐ** belongs to the entire sentence ; cf. § 17. — **μάλα σεμνῶς ὀνομάζων**, "*phrasing it pompously enough*." — **τὸ ταῦτ' ἀναληθείας καὶ τῆς βαρύτητος**, *stupore et molestia*. V. The stolid insensibility of the Bœotian character gave rise to the proverbial *βουωρία* ὅς ; cf. *οἱ ἀναίσθητοι Θηβαῖοι*, § 43. Wh. renders *βαρύτητος* by *overbearing insolence* ; Jacobs, by *Schwerfälligkeit*. *Oppressiveness* is the rendering of Holmes.

§ 36. **ὑπόουσαν** = *lurking*. The ill-feeling was chronic and ready to burst out into an open rupture. Cf. § 18 : *ἂν ἐφησθῆναι*, κ. τ. ἐ. — **οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν**, lit. *not unto long (after)* ; i. e. not at a point of time long subsequent to what has gone before. The prep. *εἰς* marks the terminus w. reference to wh. the action is considered. In § 151 is a similar use. The course of events was as follows : On the 13th of Scirophorion the envoys returned from Philip ; on the 16th they made their report to the Assembly ; on the 27th came the news that Phocis had fallen into the hands of Philip. The Phocian towns, 22 in number, were razed ; the people were deprived of their arms, excluded fr. the Amphictyonic council, and condemned to pay an annual tribute of 50 talents into the treasury of the Delphic temple, until they had restored what had been taken from the god. — **ὕμᾱς δ' ...σκευαγωγεῖν** : upon receiving the intelligence of the destruction of the Phocian towns, the Athenians, fearing a sudden attack from Philip, resolved to summon the rural population to bring their loose effects (*σκεύη*) and their wives and children within the shelter of the walls, and to put the Peiræus and the outposts of the city in a state of defence. — **ἀπέχθειαν τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους**, *the hostility on the part of the Thebans fell to the lot of the city*. *ἀπέχθειαν* w. *πρὸς* occurs above in the *subjective* sense (*our hostility towards them*), here in the *objective* sense (*their hostility towards us*) as regards the Athenians. *πρὸς* w. the genit. would be usual to express the idea of *on the part of*, but the accus. implies motion or activity, and indicates that Athens had to place herself in an attitude of *defence against Thebes*. For a similar use of *πρὸς* w. accus. cf. Dem. *de F. L.*, § 85 : *ὕμῖν μὲν τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους μείζω Φιλίππῳ δὲ τὴν χάριν πεποίηκεν*. We are not to understand

that the ill-will of the Thebans against Athens now first arose, for Athens had favored the Phocians all along, but that it was *increased* at this time; how, the orator tells us in his speech *de F. L.*, § 85: "While Philip had determined from the first to favor the Thebans, Æsch., by reporting the contrary and by showing that you were plainly not on the side of the Thebans, augmented their enmity against you and their gratitude to Philip."

§§ 37, 38. **ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ**: the genuineness of this decree is at once placed in doubt by the name of the archon and the date. Mnesiphilus is nowhere mentioned among the archons. **μαιμακτηριῶνος δεκάτη ἀπίόντος**, *the 21st of Mæmacterion*, is nearly 5 months after the time (the 27th of Scirophorion, cf. note § 36) that the intelligence of the destruction of Phocis caused so much alarm at Athens. It seems incredible that the Athenians should have waited so long to take the precautionary measures of this decree. Furthermore the contents do not agree with the statement of Dem. *de F. L.*, §§ 125, 126: *καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν κατακομίζειν ἐψηφίσεσθε καὶ τὰ φρούρια ἐπισκευάζειν καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ τευχίζειν καὶ τὰ Ἡράκλεια ἐν ἄστει θύειν. — συγκλήτου ἐκκλησίας, in the Assembly convened. — ὑπὸ στρατηγῶν καὶ πρυτάνεων, καὶ βουλῆς γνώμη*: most Editt. place a comma after *στρατηγῶν* and none after *πρυτάνεων*; the punctuation here adopted is that of V., who believes that an extra Assembly could be convened by the generals only through the agency of the prytanes, and cites in support of his view Thuc. IV. 118. The *καὶ* before *βουλῆς* seems superfluous and is excluded by Dind. — **παρευρέσει**: we should expect *προφάσει*. The word is, if not an error, at least in this sense a barbarism. — **κοιταῖον γίγνεσθαι**: "Greek of a later age, used twice by Polybius and once by Plutarch. The Greek of the period would substitute *κοιμᾶσθαι*. *ἀπόκοιτος* is classical, Æsch. p. 45, 1, 2; but *ἀποκοιτεῖν* (infin.) and *ἀφημερεύειν* are both *ἄπαξ λεγόμενα*. The great number of unclassical words in these documents is alone sufficient to condemn them as spurious." TYLER. — **ἄσοι μὴ... ἀποτεταγμένοι**, *as many as have not been detailed for the garrisons*. For the use of the indic. and the negat. *μὴ* cf. G M T. 534, 518; H. 913, 914; G. 1432, 1428. — **ἐπικρινέτω ὁ... στρατηγός**: acc. to Droysen the assignment of such a duty to any of the generals is contrary to all that is known of Athenian jurisprudence. — **ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως**, *the general of the administration*. Acc. to Bæekh (*Publ. Econ. Athen.*, p. 247) this officer had certain judicial and administrative duties connected with the army. In § 115 he is charged with the duty of paying the soldiers. — **ἄρ'**: how different from *ἄρα*? Its strong ironical force here must not be overlooked. — The emphatic words **ταύταις** and **μισθωτός** stand first and last in the sentence.

§ 39. **ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ**: however well the haughty tone of this epistle seems to harmonize with the character of Philip, there can be no doubt of



its spuriousness as soon as we notice its contradictions to what we know of the circumstances connected w. the conquest of Phocis. Notice (1) the contradiction between the intent and meaning of the letter as quoted in § 40, and its actual tenor. (2) Directly contrary to the statement of the letter, Diod. Sic. 16. 59, says: οἱ δὲ Φωκεῖς συντριβέντες ταῖς ἐλπῖσι παρέδωκαν ἑαυτοὺς τῷ Φιλίππῳ· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀνευ μάχης ἀνελπίστως καταλύσας τὸν ἱερὸν πόλεμον. Similar is the testimony of Dem. *de F. L.*, § 61: μηδεμίαν τῶν πόλεων τῶν ἐν Φωκεύσιν ἀλῶναι πολιορκία μηδ' ἐκ προσβολῆς κατὰ κράτος. (3) In the genuine letter it seems probable that Philip gave some reasons to justify his proceedings against the Phocians. — **χαίρειν**, *greeting*; the usual form of salutation. — **ἑαυτοὺς** = ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς; cf. H. 686 a; G. 995; Cu. § 471, Obs. c. — **τοῖς ὅλοις**, *altogether*. So τοῖς ὅλοις σφαλεῖν = *to be altogether ruined*. — **μέτριον ποιεῖν**, *to act with moderation or fairness*. Diss. regards the expression as a euphemism for *male agitis*; Holmes makes it a meiosis for *you seem to do anything but what is fair*. — **ὁμοίως**, *in like manner*, as though the peace had not been concluded; almost equivalent to *δμως* = *nevertheless*. For a similar sense cf. § 110. — **ἔξω τοῦ ἐφθακέναι ἀδικούντες**, *beyond that of being the aggressors in doing wrong*.

§ 40. **ἀκούετε**: indic., as would be expected after the reading of a document; cf. §§ 121, 158. The imperat. would naturally be used when a document is to follow. — **πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ συμμάχους**: the allies referred to are the Thebans and Thessalians; the phrase is to be joined directly to *δηλοῖ καὶ διορίζεται*, as is indicated by the punctuation in our text. Bense-ler, *Hiatus*, p. 94, says that fr. the repetition of the prep. *πρὸς* it may be inferred that the clause *ἐν...ἐπιστολῇ* is to be taken as a parenthesis. Diss. and others understand *συμμάχους* as explanatory of *ὑμᾶς*; but why then *πρὸς*, and what is the sense? It seems probable that Philip had acquainted his allies w. his correspondence w. the Athenians, and that from the genuine letter sent by Philip at this time they could more readily discern the sentiment expressed in *ὥστ' εἰ περ...ἐμοὶ δὲ πιστεύσετε*, than we can fr. this counterfeit document. — **ἐκ τούτων ᾤχετο ἐκείνους λαβών**, *by these means he hurried them along with him*. *οἰχομαι τι λαβών* = *I am off with something*, a frequent combination denoting an irresistible and sudden carrying away. *Animos illorum rapuit*. Bremi. — **εἰς τὸ...προορᾶν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα, κ. τ. ἐ.**, *so far that they did not even foresee nor become aware of any of the consequences*. *εἰς* expresses the point to wh. he had carried them, and w. *τὸ* and the infin. is nearly equivalent to *ὥστε* of result. — **ἔασαι**: notice the striking contrast between the use of the aor. and of the pres. in *αἰσθάνεσθαι* and *προορᾶν*. — **ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ**: the dat. denotes the *state* of subjection; in § 39 the acc. *ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦς* denotes the *process* of subjugation. — **οἱ ταλαίπωροι**, *se.*



Θηβαῖοι. So read Z., Bekk., Dind., following Σ; all other MSS. and Editt. have Θηβαῖοι either before or after κέχρηται. The reference is primarily to the condition of the Thebans after the destruction of their city in 335 B. C. As to the omission of the name, it is argued, on the one hand, that to express it would exclude any allusion to the Thessalians, who, though not so badly off as the Thebans, were after all not wholly out of the mind of Dem. as having suffered injury fr. their connection w. Philip; cf. *Phil.*, II. § 22; III. § 26. On the other hand, it is argued that the omission of Θηβαῖοι fr. Σ must be accidental, since the orator proceeds in the next paragraph to describe just their condition.

§ 41. ὁ δὲ ταύτης τῆς πίστεως, κ. τ. ἐ., and his co-operator and helpmate (αὐτῷ depends on σύν in composition) in winning this confidence, sc. in Philip on the part of the Thebans and Thessalians. — φενακίσας: a word taken from the ordinary speech of the people and frequently used by Aristophanes, derived fr. φέναξ = quack, impostor. — διεξιῶν, rehearsing; cf. note on ἐτραγῶδει, § 13. — ἀπάντων: differs fr. πάντων in summing up and combining the preceding particulars in one entirety; it may be rendered by *of all together*. — καί...καί...καί...αἴτιος; the energy and compactness of such sentences as this justify the praise of Quint., X., Ch. I., § 76: "so tense, as it were, with nerves, so free from anything superfluous." — δῆλον often introduces an ironical sentence, for you forsooth grieve, etc. — ἐξητούμην: after the destruction of Thebes, Alex. demanded the surrender of the principal anti-Macedonian orators, among whom Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and Hyperides were the chief ones. Acc. to Diod. 17. 15, there were ten of them; but Arrian, *Anab.* I. 10, mentions only nine. For further information cf. A. Schaefer, III. p. 127.

§ 42. ἀλλὰ γὰρ = Lat. *at enim*. The ellipsis is something like this: *but (enough of this now) for*; cf. § 211. — ἐμπέπτωκα: as if unintentionally. — αὐτίκα, presently, i. e. in the immediate future. — ἐπάνειμι δὴ...ὥς, κ. τ. ἐ., *I will return accordingly...that, etc.* δὴ calls attention to something just stated. The statement introduced by ὥς is a renewal of the proposition made in § 20, and the narration is resumed fr. § 36. — γὰρ: epexegetical, to introduce the promised proofs; cf. the beginning of § 169.

§ 43. οἱ κατάπτυστοι Θετταλοὶ: the Thessalians were especially despised and hated by the rest of the Greeks. Diss. quotes the following epithets as applied to them: στάσεως μεστοί, ἀπιστοί, διπλοὶ καὶ ποικίλοι. — ἀναίσθητοι: cf. note § 35. — πάντ', all in all; cf. Thuc. VIII. 95: Εἴβοια γὰρ αὐτοῖς πάντα ἦν. — οὐδὲ...ἤκουον, εἰ...βούλοιο: a mixed condit. sent., w. the apodosis in the indic. st. optat. w. ἄν to denote the *actual fact*, and in the imperf. to indicate that this fact was *habitual* or *customary*. — ὑφορῶμενοι = *suspicientes*. — οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὃ τι ἂν ἐποιεῖτε, for there was nothing

that you could have done. οὐκ ἔστι ὅστις is more frequently found than οὐδεὶς ἔστιν ὅστις in general negations. Cf. Eurip. *Medea*, 1306; id. *Phæn.*, 597; Æsch. *Choeph.*, 170. For the indic. w. ἄν cf. G M T. 243, 244; H. 903; G. 1335, 1336, 1340; Cu. § 544, Obs. 3. — καί...δέ: in this combination of conjunctions καί generally expresses the comparative idea, *also, as well as*. — ἴγρον τὴν εἰρήνην: Dind., V., and other Editt. read ἄσμενοι καί after this expression. V. claims that this addition is forcible, as making the folly of the Greeks all the more patent. — αὐτοὶ τρόπον...πολεμοῦμενοι, *although they themselves were in a certain manner the object of his warlike operations for a long time*. A similar concessive force of the partic. is found in παρών, §§ 83, 117; ἔχων, εἰδώς, § 142; κρατοῦντι, § 146. — ἐκ πολλοῦ: ἐκ indicates the point *from* which the danger began.

§ 44. γάρ: expegetical, to explain τρόπον τινὰ πολεμοῦμενοι. — περιῶν, *marching and countermarching*. — Ἰλλυρίους καὶ Τριβάλλους: the Illyrians were subdued by Philip, acc. to Diod. XVI. 69, in 345 B. C. The invasion of the Triballi is brought by Justin, IX. 3, in connection with the Scythian expedition in 339 B. C. The whole period, accordingly, between the conclusion of the peace and the renewal of hostilities is referred to. — τινὰς...τῶν Ἑλλήνων: during this period Philip supported Messenia and Argos against Sparta, seized the colonies of Elis in Epirus, placed Macedonian garrisons under Cleitarchus and Philistides in Oreus and Eretria, occupied the Thracian Chersonesus, and threatened the Athenian possessions on the Hellespont. — τῶν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων = τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν. This form of *Brachylogy* is frequent. K. § 300. 4, calls it *attraction of the preposition*. Cf. Xen. *Anab.*, I. 1. 5: ὅστις δ' ἀφικνοῖτο τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως = τῶν παρὰ βασιλεῖ ὄντων παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀφικνοῖτο. So in this oration, § 145: τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας γιγνομένων = τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ γιγνομένων ἐξ αὐτῆς. Cf. §§ 169, 213 for similar instances. — ἐκεῖσε, *proceeding thither*, i. e. to Pella, where Philip had his court. The allusion is to the scheming and treacherous politicians in the allied cities of Athens, who, under the sanction of the peace, went so often to Philip on the errands of traitors. — οὗτος, sc. Æsch. But had his bribery commenced only then? — ἕτερος ὁ λόγος οὗτος, *this is the concern of another*. ἕτερος = ἀλλότριος, cf. note § 34.

§ 45. παρ' ὑμῖν: of the speeches made in protest by Dem. at this time we have but one preserved, the second Philippic. — ὅποι: some of these places are mentioned in § 244. In *Phil.*, II., § 19; III., § 72, reference is made to the *two* embassies to the Peloponnesus upon wh. Dem. went. — ἐνόσουν, *were diseased*. Dem. likes to compare the disorders of the body politic with those of the physical organism. Cf. § 296. — τῶν μὲν...τῶν δέ, *on the one hand, those engaged in public life and service were become venal*

and corrupt for the sake of (ἐπί = with a view to) gain; while, on the other hand, those in private life and the masses (supply τῶν before πολλῶν). πολιτεῦσθαι καὶ πράττειν, δωροδοκούντων καὶ διαφθειρομένων are instances of pleonasm wh. Diss. praises as “bona latitudo dictionis,” but Schaefer condemns. — τὰ μὲν...τὰ δὲ: partly...partly. — δελεαζομένων, κ. τ. ἐ., caught with the bait of the ease and comfort of the present moment. — τοιουτοῦ τι πάθος, being affected in some such way as this. What this affection was, οἰόμενων, κ. τ. ἐ., states. — πλὴν οὐκ: Dobræus rejects πλὴν from the text. But the use of both these adverbs adds great force to the thought: they supposed the terrible thing would come, only not upon themselves, i. e. it would come everywhere else except there. πλὴν οὐκ is quite frequent after πάντες. Cf. Xen. Lac., XV. 6; Dem. 56, p. 1290: πλέουσα πανταχόσε, πλὴν οὐκ εἰς Ἀθήνας. — ἐτέρων depends on κινδύνων. — ὅταν βούλωνται: each state cherished the delusive hope that it could preserve itself by directing the attack of Philip upon the others. This paragraph gives a striking picture of the demoralized and hopeless condition of Greek national life.

§ 46. οἶμαι: how do οἶμαι and οἴομαι commonly differ in Attic usage? — ἀντὶ = in return for. — τοῖς προεστηκόσι, the leaders. — καὶ connects the two partic.; supply τοῖς before οἰομένοις; cf. τῶν ἰδιωτῶν καὶ πολλῶν above. — πεπρακόσιν: for the partic. constr. cf. H. 982; G. 1588; Cu. §§ 589. 1, 591. The dat. is by attraction to agree w. the obj. of συμβέβηκε, (τοῖς προεστηκόσι) st. w. the omitted subj. of αἰσθάνεσθαι. — ξένων: a ξένος is a friend plighted by the ties of hospitality; Germ. *Gastfreund*. — ἀκούουσιν, like the Lat. *audiunt* = they hear themselves called, bear the name of. After this word many texts insert εἰκότως, wh. is not found in Σ, Laur. S. “Sæpe etiam additum a scribis ad γὰρ ellipticum explicandum, ante quod supplenda εἰκότως, οὐ θαυμαστὸν, talia.” V.

§ 47. ὧν = τούτων ἄ. — ἂν πρίηται: cf. G M T. 532, 563; H. 919 a; G. 1431, 1439; Cu. § 554. — γὰρ: elliptical; supply ἄλλως or εἰ δὲ μή, wh. forms the condition to the apodosis ἂν ἦν. Dem. here makes use of a rhetorical syllogism: If the traitor secures the permanent favor of those whom he serves, he is of all men the most fortunate. But he is cast off as soon as he has served his purpose; ergo, he is not the most fortunate, but the opposite. To illustrate this statement, examples are given in the next paragraph. — πόθεν: whence can it be? impossible! Cf. §§ 52, 140. Of similar emphasis are πῶς γὰρ. § 312; πῶς γὰρ οὐ, § 299. — ἐγκρατῆς...καταστῆ, has established himself in full possession of his object. “καταστῆ suggests the security of his position, ἐγκρατῆς the completeness of his conquest.” HOLMES. — καὶ...ἔστι, he is also. The indic. (ἔστι) shows that this sentence forms the apodosis to ἐπειδὴν καταστῆ. The sentiment is forcibly brought out in the words of Habington quoted by Wh.:

“Mischief while it prospers brings favor from the smile of kings;  
Useless, soon is thrown away.”

— τότε δή, *from that very moment.*

§ 48. **καὶ γὰρ** : an instance of the well-known elliptical use of γὰρ w. **καὶ** : *and (it is well that you should do this) for* ; generally the **καὶ** in this use may best be left untranslated, but its force as making the causal sentence more emphatic should always be *felt*, if not expressed. — **μέχρι τούτου...ἕως**, *until that moment...until* ; a repetition like πρότερον...πρὶν for the sake of emphasis. Thuc., I. 90, § 3, has μέχρι τοσούτου ἕως. — **Λασθένης** : by delivering 500 cavalry men into Philip's hands during the siege of Olynthus, betrayed his own city. Cf. Diod., XVI. 53. — **Τιμόλαος** : in § 295 the same name occurs in the Doric form. Acc. to Theopompus, as quoted by Athenæus, Timolaus was one of the most debauched men and corrupt politicians of his time. Deinarchus, I., § 74, makes him for scandal's sake the friend of Dem. — **Εὐδικος, Σίμος** : acc. to Harpocration were two of the tetrarchs among whom Philip, in 342 B. C., apportioned the jurisdiction of Thessaly. — **πάσα ἡ οἰκουμένη**, *the whole habitable world, i. e. the Grecian world.* In his Orat. de Halonn., § 35, Dem. contrasts ἡ οἰκουμένη with ἀλλη τις χώρα, manifestly meaning his own country in a general sense. — **μεστή γέγονεν** : the ordinary reading adds προδοτῶν : *became full of traitors driven about and suffering insult.* But V., Bekk., W., Z., Sauppe, following Σ, omit this word and make the partic. agree w. τούτων understood and referring to the individuals just named. V. thinks that Dem. is here speaking only of the contempt in wh. these traitors were held, elsewhere (sc. § 295) of their great number ; and he understands μεστή of the *notoriety* of their fate, wh. filled all Greece. More natural seems to us the interpretation of W., that all Greece was *full of*, i. e. *sated with, wearied of* these men driven from city to city and everywhere despised and maltreated. — **τί** : supply πέπονθεν fr. πασχόντων above. — **Ἀρίστρατος** : tyrant of Sicyon, mentioned in § 295 and in Plut. Vit. Arat., 13. — **Περίλαος** : attempted in 343 B. C. to deliver Megara into the hands of Philip by the aid of Macedonian mercenaries. His attempt failed through aid sent by the Athenians under Phocion.

§ 49. **οὗτος...τὸ ἔχειν...περιποιεῖ**, *he it is "who secures to you the opportunity of getting bribes."* KENN. The patriotic citizen in guarding his country's independence affords thereby the traitor the opportunity itself of making his nefarious gain. — **καὶ διὰ, κ. τ. ἐ.** : the force of the **ὅτι** after **ἴδου** continues here. — **τοὺς πολλοὺς τουτωνὶ** : refers to the majority of the populace that had supported the measures of the patriotic party. — **τοὺς ἀνθισταμένους** : refers to the orators and leaders of that party. — **ἂν ἀπολώλιτε** : forms the apodosis to a protasis implied in *διὰ γε ὑμᾶς αὐτούς, as*



if it were *εἰ ὑμεῖς κατεπράξασθε τὰς ἐαυτῶν γνώμας*. The plupf. because of the peculiar meaning of ἀπόλωλα.

§§ 50-52. CONCLUSION OF THE FIRST PART OF THE ORATION. ALEXANDER'S FRIEND IS ALEXANDER'S HIRELING. εἰρησθαί: the infin. depends on the adj. *ικανῶν*. Cf. G M T. 763; H. 952; G. 1528; Cu. § 562. — *ἔωλοκρασίαν*, *dregs, stale mess, foulness*, are the best translations. Bekker's *Anecdota* defines this word as *the lees of wine* and *dregs of a night's debauch*, that were poured out by the revellers upon such as had fallen asleep amid the excesses of the feast. Hermogenes the rhetorician cites this as one of the boldest metaphors of the orator. ὥσπερ apologizes for its use. The application is obviously to the stale and hashed-up charges of treachery wh. Æsch. was seeking to turn away from himself upon Dem. — ἦν...πρὸς...ἀπολύσασθαι, of which it was essential that I clear myself before those younger than the events. πρὸς w. accus. denotes the aim of the action in ἀπολύσασθαι; he must vindicate himself to those younger, etc. As the events referred to occurred between 348 and 346 B. C., from 18 to 16 years ago, and a dicast need not be more than 30 years old, it is probable that some of the members of the court were at the time of these events mere boys of 14 or 16 years. — *παρηνώχλησθε*: what peculiarity in the inflection? — *μισθαρίαν*: this word is placed purposely at the end in order to give better occasion for the following refutation.

§ 51. *ξενίαν*, *hospitality*, or more properly *guest-friendship*. Cf. note on *ξένων*, § 46. — *που λέγων* = *somewhere in his speech*. — *ξένον...φίλον*: correspond to *φιλιαν...ξενίαν*, but with the order reversed for the sake of variety.

§ 52. *μισθωτὸν*: emphatic position. — *πότερον...ἢ*: cf. H. 1017; G. 1606; Cu. § 611. — *μισθωτὸς...ξένος*: the emphatic order in English is the reverse, that alternative coming last wh. the speaker expects in response. As regards this appeal itself, the following explanations are presented in the order of our preference: (1) Dem. felt sure of a favorable response from his avowed adherents, and was already conscious of the favor of a large part of the jury. He therefore felt safe in risking a direct appeal. Cicero in *Orat.*, 31, 111, *Brut.*, 84, 290, tells us how the orators would move their auditors to loud assent and dissent. A clear instance of such direct appeal and responsive assent is found in Dem. c. *Aristocr.*, § 19: Dem. asks: *περὶ τοῦ παρανόμου βούλεσθε πρῶτον*. The jury is supposed to reply *yes*: and Dem. rejoins, *τοῦτο τοῖνυν ἐροῦμεν*. (2) The whole passage is a later addition made by Dem. upon a revision of his speech, in order to give it more the appearance of an extemporaneous effort. This is the opinion of Diss., who adds § 138 as another instance of a later insertion on the ground of its being too harsh a criticism upon the jury to be spoken at the time. (3) The orator expected no



response ; mere silence would give assent. But to this opinion ἀκούεις seems opposed, as also the well-known custom for the jury to express loud assent or dissent. (4) Acc. to Ulpian, Dem. purposely mispronounced and said μίσθωτος, and the critical Athenians at once correcting him replied w. overwhelming voice μισθωτός, as if in answer to his appeal. That such a trick would be wholly unworthy of the orator need hardly be said.

## SECOND DIVISION OF THE ORATION.

§§ 53-125. FORMAL ANSWER TO THE INDICTMENT. (a) §§ 53-59. INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE CHARGES. (b) §§ 60-109. REFUTATION OF FIRST COUNT IN THE INDICTMENT : THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION OF DEM. JUSTIFIED. (c) §§ 110-119. REFUTATION OF SECOND COUNT IN THE INDICTMENT : DEM. NOT ACCOUNTABLE FOR THAT WHICH WAS THE GROUND OF THE PROPOSAL TO CROWN HIM. (d) §§ 120-122. REFUTATION OF THIRD COUNT IN THE INDICTMENT : THE PROCLAMATION IN THE THEATRE NOT ILLEGAL. (e) §§ 123-125. TRANSITION FROM THE SECOND TO THE THIRD DIVISION OF THE ORATION, FROM THE DEFENCE TO THE ATTACK.

(a) §§ 53-59. ἤδη = Lat. *tandem*. — καὶ : correlated w. καὶ before πολλῶν — προβεβουλευμένων refers to the proposed crowning wh. was as yet only in the form of a *preliminary decree* (προβούλευμα) passed by the βουλῆ, and wh. had first to be passed by the ἐκκλησία before it became a ψήφισμα. — δίκαιος : why not in the accus. ? Cf. H. 940 ; G. 927 ; Cu. § 570.

§§ 54, 55. ΓΡΑΦΗ : manifestly not genuine, as appears fr. the following : Χαιρώνδου should be Φρυνίχου. Chæronidas was Archon at the time when Dem. first proposed the reparation of the walls, wh., acc. to Æsch., § 27, was the 29th of Thargelion (about the 1st of June), 337 B. C. Three days later Dem. was elected Commissioner of Walls. But the date of this document is the 6th of Elaphebolion (about the middle of March), more than two months earlier. This document then would make out that Ctesiphon was indicted for an alleged offence two months before it had been committed ! — Κοθωκίδης, of *Cothocidæ* ; an Attic deme of the tribe Ceneis. Its situation is unknown. — ἀπήνεγκε... παρανόμων, brought or lodged a charge (γραφὴν understood, as often in forensic usage) of *illegality*. How improbable it is that the bill of indictment should itself mention its own process at law. Cf. Meier and Schöm. *Att. Proc.*, p. 607. — πρὸς τὸν ἀρχοντα, i. e. the Archon Eponymus. But the process of the γραφὴ παρανόμων came properly before the Thesmothetæ. Cf. Dem. c. *Leptin.*, § 98 ; c. *Aristog.*,

§ 8. — **Ἀναφλυστόν**: Anaphlystus was a deme of the tribe Antiochis, and was situated a little to the northwest of Sunium, on the western shore. — **ἄρα** indicates a citation; we expect, therefore, a literal quotation of the decree of Ctesiphon. But we notice the absence of *καὶ ἐπαινεῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις*, wh. is cited in § 57; and, acc. to Æsch., § 34, *ἀναγορεῦσαι* below should be followed by *πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας*. The pretended *ψήφισμα* in § 118 is of too doubtful authority to serve as a criterion for this *γραφή*. — **Παιανία**: Pæania was the name of the two Attic demes, upper and lower P., of the tribe Pandionis, situated on the east side of Mt. Hymettus. — **στεφάνῳ**: crowns of olive, myrtle, laurel, and ivy were originally bestowed upon the victors in the national games. In later times, just when it is difficult to determine, crowns of gold were bestowed. In the period of Dem. civic crowns of gold were presented to that trierarch who was the first to furnish an equipped vessel to the Athenian navy, and to public men who had deserved well of the state. But this custom soon degenerated into a mark of political favor. Cf. Diet. Antiq. *Corona*. — **Διονυσίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις**: for an account of the Dionysiac festivals cf. Diet. Antiq. *The great Dionysia* occurred in March, and were the gala days of the year, when Athens was crowded w. strangers and deputies fr. foreign states. At this festival the *new tragedies* were first brought out. — **ὅτι στεφανοῖ** depends on *ἀναγορεῦσαι*. — **ἀρετῆς**: the generic term covers both the special points of *merit*: *καὶ εὐνοίας...καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας*. — **τῶν νόμων...καταβάλλεσθαι**, since the laws do not allow, in the first place, that false documents be inserted in the public archives. If it could be shown that the statements in regard to Dem. were untrue, Ctesiphon was guilty of violating the law just stated. This is the *first* count in the indictment. It is to be remarked that while no such specific law as this can be shown to have existed, it was plainly against the spirit of the law in general, or against the common law, to introduce untrue statements in the public archives. This is what Æsch., § 50, means: *ἅπαντες γὰρ ἀπαγορεύουσιν οἱ νόμοι μηδένα ψευδῆ γράμματα ἐγγράφειν ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις ψηφίσμασι*. — **εἶτα**, in the next place: introducing the *second* count in the indictment. — **τὸν ὑπεύθυνον**: all public officers, except the Dicasts, were obliged to render account of their office, and generally within 30 days after its termination, before the board of Auditors (*λογισταί*), and their associates the Investigators (*εἰθνηοὶ*). For a full account of the duties of these officials cf. Bæekh *Publ. Econ.*, p. 262 ff.; Meier and Schöm. *Att. Proc.*, p. 100 ff. — **τοιχοποιοῖς**, *Commissioner of Walls*; this was one of the most important of the civil offices. — **τῶν θεωρικῶν**, the *Theoric Fund*, was a fund set apart to defray the expenses of the public games and festivals. Pericles first introduced the custom of giving as a largess to the populace the two-obol entrance-fee to the theatre,

which was paid from this fund. In the time of Dem. the *thoricon* had become a powerful means of corruption in the hands of politicians. Bœekh (*Publ. Econ.*, p. 311) estimates that the lowest annual expenditure for the *thoricon* at this period was from twenty-five to thirty talents, and that this amount may occasionally have been doubled or trebled. Justin, as quoted by Bœekh, remarks: "Then were the public revenues, w. wh. previously soldiers and rowers had been maintained, distributed among the citizens of Athens"; and B. adds: "Thus Philip was enabled to raise his head." — ἀναγορεύειν and ἀνειπεῖν below depend on κελυόντων, wh. is to be supplied from οὐκ ἐώντων above. — τῇ καινῇ: Wolff supplies εἰσόδω; Reiske, ἐπιδείξει or ἀγωνία; V. παρόδω. — τίμημα, penalty, damages. There were two kinds of suits or actions in the Athenian courts: (1) ἀγῶνες ἀτίμητοι, in wh. the penalty was fixed and attached by law; (2) ἀγῶνες τιμητοί, in wh. the penalty was to be assessed by the jury. The γραφή παρανόμων belonged to the latter. — κλήτορες: κλητῆρες was the usual form. These were the witnesses to the serving of the summons (πρόσκλησις). There were commonly two, and their names were always appended to the bill. — Κηφισοφῶν...Κλέων: cf. note § 29.

§ 56. τοῦ ψηφίσματος: partit. genit. with ἀ. A similar constr. is found in §§ 59, 118. The decree is that of Ctesiphon. — πρῶτον, most of all, chiefly. — τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦτω τάξιν, the same order as this one; i. e. the order followed by Æsch. in drawing up the bill of indictment, not the order of his speech, where, probably w. a view to making his strongest points (sc. the technical points of the time and place of crowning) most prominent, he departs fr. the order of the indictment. Dem. was entirely consistent in demurring against the demand (§§ 1, 2) of his rival to follow the order of his speech, and just in taking advantage of the order of the indictment, by wh. he could place his weakest (the technical) points in the middle of his speech, where they would attract least notice.

§ 57. τοῦ...γράψαι...ἐπαινεῖν, as regards the statement that, etc., and the praise bestowed; these verbal nouns in the genit. depend on κρίσιν. — εἶτε...εἶτε καὶ: Diss. notices that when a speaker prefers the former of two alternatives he is apt to insert καὶ after the second εἶτε. So in § 58: εἶτε ἄξιος...εἶτε καὶ μὴ; Plat. *Theæt.*, p. 168: εἶτε ταῦτόν εἶτε καὶ ἄλλο ἐπιστήμη καὶ αἰσθησις.

§ 58. τὸ δὲ μὴ προσγράψαντα...στεφανοῦν states the second point of the indictment; καὶ ἀνειπεῖν...κελεύσαι states the third point. The entire sentence τὸ...κελεύσαι is summed up by τοῦτο and forms the subject of κοινωνεῖν = is connected with. On the constr. of the subordinate parts of the sentence critics are divided between these three opinions: (1) στεφανοῦν, like ἀνειπεῖν, depends on κελύσαι w. the omitted subject of wh.

(αὐτῶν) προσγράψαντα agrees; (2) στεφανοῦν depends on γράψαι supplied fr. προσγράψαντα; and as for his proposing to crown without adding (πρὸς) the proviso "when he has given in his accounts," and having ordered proclamation of the crown to be made in the theatre; (3) στεφανοῦν is coördinate w. κελεύσαι and subj. of κοινωρεῖν. The first constr. is adopted by the largest number, and seems, on the whole, the most natural. — ἐν τοῦτοις: *inter hos cives*. οὔτοι is often used by the orators to refer to the *demus* or *plebs* in the Assembly and court. — ἐτι μέντοι, *still however*. μέντοι is correl. of μέν with κοινωρεῖν. — ἀπλῶς, as opposed to τεχνικῶς; hence, *artlessly, without duplicity*. — ἔγνωκα, *I have determined*.

§ 59. ἀπαρτᾶν, lit. *to hang away from, hence to separate, to disconnect*. And let no one suppose that I am disconnecting my speech from the indictment. Dem. wishes to guard against the charge of irrelevancy. Upon this Lord B. remarks: "The extreme importance to Dem. case of the skilful movement, so to speak, by wh. he availed himself of Æsch. error, and at once entered upon the subject of his whole administration, thus escaping the immediate charge to wh. he had no answer, and overwhelming his adversary by a triumphant defence on ground of his own choosing, required that he should again and again defend this movement, wh. he here does very carefully." — Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις, *Hellenic affairs and discussions*, in distinction fr. *Athenian*; what w. us is called the *Foreign Department*. This distinction is made more clear in § 109. — τοῦ ψηφίσματος depends on the whole sentence τὸ λέγειν...με. — εἶτα καὶ πολλῶν προαιρέσεων, κ. τ. ἐ., *accordingly also, there being many departments of public life open to my selection*; sc. such as those of finance, of war, of navy; καὶ anticipates the force of the καὶ before τὰς ἀποδείξεις.

(b) §§ 60-109. I. §§ 60-72. WHAT THE CONDITION OF GREECE DEMANDED OF ATHENS. οὖν resumes the statement at the close of § 58, wh. was interrupted by the apology offered in § 59. The student cannot be too careful in noticing the exact and delicate force of these particles and conjunctions. — ἀ...πρὸ...δημηγορεῖν προὔλαβε: here Dem. refers to the period prior to the peace of Philocrates, 346 B. C., during which period Philip had taken Amphipolis, Pydna, Potidæa, and Olynthus. Dem. disavows responsibility for the conduct of affairs, until, as the acknowledged head of the Anti-Macedonian party, he dictated the foreign policy of the state (ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐπέστην), wh. was from about 343 B. C. — ἀ...καὶ διεκωλύθη, *but in what he was especially thwarted*. The intensive force of καὶ w. the verb must be noticed. It was not Philip's *successes*, some of wh. he gained even after the entrance of Dem. upon public life, but his *failures* that Dem. now wishes to speak of. Attention is called by several critics to the skilful choice of the word διεκωλύθη, wh., by implying that Dem. acted upon the



*defensive*, prepares the way for the subsequent argument that all his measures were *defensive* and that he cannot, therefore, be charged w. the guilt of originating a war that brought ruin upon his country. — **τοσοῦτον ὑπειπὼν** : *having premised thus much*, as foundation (ὑπό) of the argument. — **πλεονέκτημα** : derivat.? Notice the *Asyndeton*.

§ 61. **φορὰν** : cf. L. and Sc., II. B. 3. — **προδοτῶν... ἀνθρώπων** : notice the cumulative force of these epithets. — **θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν** : “*God-detested*. The phrase is used almost as if it were a single word, otherwise the abrupt introduction of the dat. would be rather inelegant.” HOLMES. — **γεγονυῖαν** : w. what verbs is the supplementary partic. joined instead of the infin.? Cf. G M T. 878, 904 ; H. 981-984 ; G. 1579, 1588 ; Cu. §§ 590, 593. — **καὶ πρότερον κακῶς... διέθηκε**, *the Greeks, even previously disaffected towards one another and factious, he made still worse disposed*. The two adverbs in *-ως* are placed as far apart as possible for the sake of emphasis. — **τοὺς μὲν**, *some*, as e. g. the Athenians, by the peace of 346 B. C. ; **τοῖς δὲ**, *others by bribing*, as e. g. the Thebans who were loaded w. favors for their coöperation in the destruction of Phocis. — **τοὺς δὲ διαφθείρων**, *by corrupting them in every possible way*. The expression is climacteric and embraces both classes described by *τοὺς μὲν* and *τοῖς δὲ*. W. makes *διαφθείρων* refer to the Phocians in the sense of *destroying* ; but in Dem. the prevailing sense of the word is *corruptere*. Cf. § 295. — **κωλύειν** : explanatory of τοῦ συμφέροντος.

§ 62. **ἐν τοιαύτῃ... τὴν πόλιν** : the rhetorical order of this sentence is such that, while the connection w. the preceding sentence is made most clear, the emphatic words are made most prominent. — **συνισταμένου καὶ φυομένου κακοῦ**, *of the gathering and growing mischief*. Wh. The Z. Edit. reads *φυρομένου* based upon Σ, wh. has *φυ ομένον* ; but the sense is decidedly better w. the reading of the other MSS., wh. is *φυομένον*. — **πράττειν καὶ ποιεῖν** : rhetorical pleonasm, in wh. the distinction in meaning is hardly felt. Cf. § 246. — **ἐνταῦθα... τῆς πολιτείας**, *at that point of the administration*.

§ 63. **πότερον... ἢ** : cf. H. 1017 ; G. 1606 ; Cu. § 611. — **Θετταλῶν καὶ Δολόπων** : these are mentioned because of the general contempt in wh. they were held and because of their Anti-Hellenic policy. Cf. Herod., VII. 132, 185. — **συγκατακτᾶσθαι Φιλίππῳ**, *to have joined in acquiring for Philip*. — **καὶ τὰ τῶν προγόνων... ἀναιρεῖν**, “*et majorum decora et jura evertere, qui pro libertate Græciæ gloriosissime pugnarunt et principatum meruere facinoribus egregiis*.” Diss. — **κωλύσει**, st. *κωλύσοι* or *κωλύοι*, the form of the direct narration for the sake of liveliness. Cf. Æsch. c. Ctes., § 90. — **ὡς ἔοικεν**, *profecto*. Diss. remarks that this phrase has not rarely an ironical force ; as in Engl. we may say : “I suppose,” of what is very certainly known,



§ 64. ἀλλὰ νῦν, κ. τ. ε. : this sentence simply repeats in another form the idea of the preceding ; *συναϊτίας* corresponding to *συγκατακτᾶσθαι*, and *περιεωρακίας* to *περιυδεῖν* above. — *ἔβούλετ' ἄν*, *he would wish* ; the indie. w. *ἄν* denotes that the condition for realizing the wish is unfulfilled. (Cf. G M T. 243, 244, 246 ; H. 903 ; G. 1336, 1337, 1339 ; Cu. § 537. — τῆς *συναϊτίας*, sc. *μερίδος*, *the party that was the joint-cause of*. — *ἄν εἶποι* : what protasis may be supplied in thought ? Cf. G M T. 235 ; H. 872 a ; G. 1328 ; Cu. § 544. — ἐπὶ τῇ...ἐλπίδι, *with a view to the hope* ; ἐπὶ w. the dat. denoting the *purpose* or *object for which*. — Ἄρκάδας...Μεσσηνίου... Ἄργεῖους : the Arcadians and Messenians, Pausanias says (VII. 15. 6 ; VIII. 6. 2 ; IV. 28. 2), kept themselves wholly aloof in the last decisive struggle of Athens against Philip. The Argives had sought Philip's friendship and protection against Sparta. Cf. Isocr. *Phil.*, § 74.

§ 65. ἀππλλάχασιν, *have come off*. — καὶ γὰρ = Lat. *etenim*. — ἦν ἄν...ἐναντιωθέντων : so reads Σ. The reading *ἔμωσ ἦν ἄν...ὄκ ἐναντιωθέντων* found in Reiske, Taylor, Diss., Bremi, Dind., and other Editt., is due to a false interpretation of this passage. Dem. wishes to justify himself and the Athenians in their opposition to Philip, and says substantially this : Had Philip, when he had gained the upper hand (*ἐκράτησε*, wh. points to the close of the Phocian war, in wh. Philip had at least the appearance of doing right in punishing the violators of the Delphic sanctuary), — had he then withdrawn and made no further attempts against the rights of other states, there might have been some reason for censuring those who opposed him (i. e. us) ; since however he, on the contrary, used this victory over the Phocians as a means of further conquest, and gradually deprived all the states of their freedom, my solicitude and opposition are most fully justified, and you have done right and best in following my counsel. Thus by the concession in the early part of the sentence, Dem. strengthens his subsequent statement. — οἷς = *τούτοις* ᾶ : cf. H. 996 a ; G. 1031, 1032 ; Cu. § 597. 4. — *πολιτείας*, *constitutions* ; of a democratic form of government, in distinction from a *τυραννίς*. — ὄσων : in the same constr. as *ἀπάντων* above.

· § 66. ἐκέισε, *illuc*, to be referred to *νῦν* at the beginning of § 64. — τὸν Ἀθήνησι : several Editt. read *ἐμέ* after these words, though not found in Σ. Reuter calls attention to the fact that *καὶ γὰρ...διαφέρει* can only refer to Ἀθήνησιν. That Dem. alludes here to himself is plain enough from the connection and from the use of the 1st pers. in *συνήδεν*, *ἀνέβην*, *ἔώρων*. — ἐκ παγτὸς τοῦ χρόνου : the use of *ἐκ* w. genit. expresses the existence of this consciousness all the time through *from the first moment* of his observation. So *ἀφ' ἧς*, st. *ἐφ' ἧ*, indicates the whole period extending fr. the time at wh. he began to address the Assembly. This is a favorite mode of expressing

time w. Dem. Cf. ἐκ πολλοῦ, § 43. — **πρωτείων**, *precedence, primacy*; referring to the hegemony. For the singular cf. § 321. — **φιλοτιμίας**, *distinction, pre-eminence*. — **ἕκαστοι**: Dem. frequently compliments the Athenians for their readiness to sacrifice in behalf of the freedom and welfare of the other Greek states.

§ 67. **τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκεκομμένον**: as similar instances of accus. of *synecdoche*, Holmes cites Aristoph. *Nub.*, 24: εἰθ' ἐξεκόπην πρότερον τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν λίθῳ; Æsch. c. *Tim.*, § 172: ἐκκοπεῖς ὁ δειλαῖος ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. This wound Philip probably incurred at the siege of Methone, 353 B. C. Cf. Diod., XVI. 34. — **τὴν κλεῖν**: this happened, acc. to the Schol., on the expedition against the Illyrians, 345 B. C. — **τὴν χεῖρα, τὸ σκέλος**: these injuries were sustained on his return from a Scythian campaign, the last one in an encounter w. the Triballi, 339 B. C. Justin, IV. 3, says: *in femore vulneratus est Philippus*. This enumeration of Philip's injuries seems to be given in chronological order; but Diss. observes: "suaviter a capite ad inferiora descendit." — **βουληθείη**: why the optat.? Cf. G M T. 532; H. 914 B; G. 1431; Cu. § 555. — **μέρος**, *every part of his body, whatever fortune*, etc. The antecedent is incorporated in the relat. clause, by wh., as Diss. observes, the emphasis of **πάν** is increased. Cf. H. 995; G. 1037; Cu. § 597. 3. — **τῷ λοιπῷ**, *reliquo corpore*.

§ 68. **οὐδέ** points to what precedes; as that cannot be denied, so would no one even venture, etc. — **Πέλλῃ**: the allusion to Philip's birthplace as contrasted w. Athens is manifestly contemptuous. — **τοῦτ'**, sc. ἡ τῶν Ἑλ. ἀρχή. — **ἐν πάσι...θεωρήμασι**: *in speeches and spectacles*, Lord B.; *in speeches and in dramas*, Kenn.; better, w. Leland, *in everything you hear and see*. — **ὑπόμνημα θεωροῦσι**, *contemplate a memorial*; **ὑπόμνημα** used in a concrete sense as referring to the greatness and splendor of their city. All other Editt. read here *ὑπομνήμαθ' ὀρῶσι*. Our reading is that of Σ and two other MSS., though on the margin of Σ the other reading is also found; **θεωρεῖν** is used in the same sense in Dem. *pro Rhod. Lib.*, § 35. — **ἑθελοντάς** seems tautological. Some critics regard it as a gloss to explain the word before it. The idea is intensified by its use. Cf. § 305: *μετὰ πάσης ἀδείας ἀσφαλῶς*; Dem. *Olynth.*, III., § 6: *πάντι σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν*; *Phil.*, II., § 16: *βιασθεῖς ἄκων*.

§ 69. **λοιπὸν τοίνυν ἦν**, *it remained therefore*; as the only course left to be pursued. Notice the strong inferential force of **τοίνυν**, wh. at the same time adds to the considerations already advanced a new motive in the antithesis of *δικαίως* and *ἀδικῶν*. — **ἔγραφον...καὶ ἐγὼ**, *and I also acted as the mover of your resolutions and as your counsellor*; **καὶ** before **ἐγὼ** indicates that Dem. claims that he was only in line with the traditional policy of the city. Cf. **καὶ** before *διεκωλύθη*, § 60. — **καθ'...χρόνους**: give the Greek without incorporation of the antecedent. — **πάντα**, *dismissing*

*all the rest.* These earlier conquests Philip made in 358–345 B. C. Cf. note § 60.

§ 70. **Σέρριον**: cf. § 27. — **Δορίσκον**: cf. *Æsch. c. Ctes.*, § 82. These Thracian towns were taken in 345 B. C. — **Πεπαρήθου**: this island was laid waste by Philip, about 342 B. C., for ejecting the Macedonian garrison from the neighboring island of Halonnesus, for the possession of which Philip and the Athenians were contending. Cf. *Æsch. c. Ctes.*, § 83. — **οὐδ'... οἶδα**: “*Sic me geram quasi omnino nesciam facta.*” Diss. — **σύ γ'**, *you*, made emphatic by *γε* wh. generally throws its emphasis upon the preceding word; and yet you affirmed (though cognizant of all these facts) that I in speaking of these matters had brought these persons (sc. his auditors) into hostility (with Philip namely). — **Εὐβούλου**: cf. note § 21. — **Ἀριστοφάντος**: of the deme Azenia, one of the leading statesman of Athens fr. the close of the Pelopon. War down to about 352 B. C. The chief aim of his policy seems to have been to unite Athens and Thebes against Sparta; cf. § 162. Dem. in his *Leptin. Orat.*, § 146, calls him *δεινὸς λέγειν*. *Æsch. c. Ctes.*, § 194, refers to Arist. as boasting that he had been acquitted on seventy-five charges of *γραφὴ παρανομῶν*. — **Διοπείθους**: most scholars follow the Scholiast in supposing this Diopieithes to be the Athenian general who in 343 B. C. saved the Chersonesus fr. falling into the hands of Philip. But A. Schaefer (I. 163, II. 422) believes this Diopieithes to be the orator and statesman who is mentioned by Hyperides, of the deme Sphettus. — **οὐδὲ**: as before I offered no resolutions w. reference to these matters, *I will now also not speak of them.*

§ 71. **Εὐβοίαν**: Philip sought to gain a foothold in Eubœa as early as 350 B. C., when he supported the tyrant Callias of Chalcis against the Athenians under Phocion, who had been summoned to give assistance by Plutarch, tyrant of Eretria. The peace of 346 for a while checked his operations; but in 343 he boldly invaded the island, destroyed Porthmus, a fortification of the Eretrians, and placed his tools in power in Oreus and Eretria, as mentioned in the text. Vid. farther § 79. — **σφετεριζόμενος**, *appropriating to himself*. — **ἐπιτείχισμα**, *as a post of attack, base of operations against*; cf. *ἐπιτειχισμὸν*, § 87. For this the position of Eubœa was admirably fitted. — **Μεγάροις**: in 343 B. C. a Macedonian faction, at the head of wh. stood Perilaus, endeavored to put Megara into the hands of Philip, so as to prepare the way for his conquest of the Peloponnesus; but this plan was frustrated through the prompt and energetic interference of the Athenians under Phocion. Cf. Dem. *Phil.*, III., §§ 18, 27; *de F. L.*, §§ 87, 204, 295, 326. — **Ἑλλήσποντον**: Philip occupied the Hellespont in 342 B. C., and sent out forces to conquer and destroy the towns of the Chersonesus. — **Βυζάντιον**: cf. note § 87. — **πόλεις... ἄς μὲν... ἄς δὲ**: cf. H. 624 d;

G 914; Cu. § 361. 12. The use of *ἀς μὲν... ἀς δὲ* st. *τάς μὲν... τάς δέ*, Bremi remarks, is contrary to the best Attic usage of this period and an instance of a vulgarism employed by the best writers. Professor Lipsius cites as the only example of this use prior to Dem., *οὐς μὲν... οὐς δέ* in Xen. *Cyrop.*, II. 4, § 23, where some Editt. read *τοὺς μὲν... τοὺς δέ*. Cf. V. ad loc., who gives also *ὦν μὲν... ὦν δέ* ap. Stob. *Serm.*, XVI., p. 153, Gesn. What cities the orator has in mind has not been ascertained. — *ἠδίκηκε*: notice the *continuance* of the action expressed by the impf. in this and the following verbs. — *ἢ μή*: the negat. is to be joined w. *φανῆναι*; had *οὔ* been used, the question would have been less emphatic. The *οὔ* above is joined w. the preceding verbs in the indic. and expects an affirmative answer. Here the difference between *μή* and *οὐκ* may be expressed thus: *ἢ (ἐχρήην) μή (φανῆναι) = or ought he to have NOT shown himself, i. e. failed to show himself; ἢ οὐκ (ἐχρήην) (φανῆναι) = or ought NOT he to have shown himself, i. e. was it not his duty to.*

§ 72. *τὴν Μυσηῶν λείαν*: “*Mysian booty*” was proverbial for helplessness. The proverb arose from the story that during the absence of their king, Telephus, the Mysians became the unresisting prey of their neighbors. Arist. *Rhet.*, I. 12, and Cic. *pro Flacco*, § 27, quote it. — *ζώντων καὶ ὄντων*, *alive and in being*. — *εἶναι* is sometimes used of an established political existence; so Dem. *Phil.*, III., § 56: *ὅτ' ἦν ἡ πόλις*; *de Fl. L.*, § 64: *οὐσης τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως*. W. Dind. compares *Τιμοδῆμω καὶ νῦν εἶτι ζῶντι καὶ ἔντι*, Dem. *pro Phorm.*, § 29. — *περιείργασμαι*, *I have overdone the matter, exceeded my duty*. — *ἔδει*: *δεῖ* = *it is wanting or needed*, physical necessity; *χρή* = *it is befitting or due*, moral necessity; *προσῆκει* = *it is becoming or proper*. — *τούτων* refers to *ταῦτα πάντα* in § 71. — *ταῦτα, κ. τ. ἐ.*, *this was my political course*; sc. as implied in *τούτων κωλυτὴν* above. — *καὶ... διετέλου*, *and I was continually forewarning and admonishing you not to surrender* (sc. your leadership and your liberties to Philip). The preceding passage, commencing w. § 66, Lord B. regards among the finest in all Dem. He says: “The heavy fire of indignant invective is kept up throughout, only limited by the desire to avoid any too personal offence to an audience as vain as supine, and as impatient of censures as it was deserving of them. The rapidity of the declamation is striking in the highest degree; the number of topics crowded into a few words, in § 71 especially, and the absolute perfection of the choice, is not to be surpassed.” The force and breadth of the argument are no less admirable than the diction and style. It is stated from three points of view: (1) Looking at the condition of Greece, what did the honor of the city require Athens to do (§§ 62–65)? (2) Looking at the parties engaged in this struggle, was Athens to yield or to resist (§§ 66–68)? (3) Looking at the historical facts, ought any state to have resisted Philip; if so, which one (§§ 69–72)?



II. §§ 73-78. PHILIP, NOT ATHENS, BROKE THE PEACE; OTHER STATESMEN, NOT DEM., PROPOSED WAR. τὰ πλοῖα: reference is made to the seizure and plundering of Athenian merchantmen by Macedonian privateers, let loose by Philip about 340 B. C. This and the devastation of the Chersonesus were among the causes wh. finally determined the Athenians to a formal declaration of war. — ψηφίσματα: the decrees that follow are very unsatisfactory, not only failing to give us the promised answer to the question τίς τίνος αἰτιός ἐστι, but also wanting in clearness on the affair of the seizure of the boats.<sup>1</sup>

§ 75. τὸ δ' ἐφέξης: what decrees Dem. refers to is not quite clear; probably, however, the same as those alluded to in § 70 (τῶν περὶ τούτων ψηφισμάτων), and bearing upon events prior to the peace of Philocrates. The point that Dem. aims to make in citing these names is, to show that as he was not the one who proposed the peace in the first place (cf. § 21), so he was also not the one who proposed its dissolution. — Ἠγήσιππος is the only name that has not already been mentioned. He was a zealous adherent of the popular party. He had proposed the alliance with the Phocians and opposed the peace with Philip. The seventh in the order of the Demosthenic orations, *On the Halonnesus*, is now generally attributed to Hegesippus. — πάντες, i. e. πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι, as some MSS. have it.

§ 76. τοῦ πολέμου refers to the resumption of hostilities w. Philip in 340 B. C. — ἂν ἔχοις: what would be the form of the condition if expressed? — εἰ...εἶχες...ἂν...παρέσχου: cf. G M T. 410; H. 895; G. 1397; C. u. §§ 537, 538, 539. Notice the shade of difference in the use of the tenses. — ὑπὲρ: cf. note § 9.

III. §§ 79-101. DEM. JUSTIFIES HIS FOREIGN ADMINISTRATION. ἐνταῦθ', i. e. in the letter just read. Notice again the orator's happy transition from one topic to another: that Philip does not blame him is an indirect witness to his services to the state, wh. he proceeds to enumerate. — τί ποτ': the indef. ποτέ adds to the inquiry a certain tone of surprise or astonishment; somewhat like our, *why in the world?* — γεγράφει: the MSS. reading is γέγραφε or γέγραφεν, wh. gives an anomaly of wh. we cannot suppose the orator guilty. Bekk. reads ἔγραφεν, V. and W., after Droysen's emendation, γ' ἔγραφεν, Dind. has ἐγεγράφει. The omission of the augment, as in our text, in the plupf., is not uncommon when a long vowel or diphthong immediately precedes: cf. εἶ πεπόνθησαν § 213; πολλαί πεπτώκεσαν, Thuc. I. 89; ἤδη τετελευτήκει, Xen. *Anab.*, VI. 4. 11. With

<sup>1</sup> Since the remaining documents are generally even more unsatisfactory than those already examined, and as in many, if not most, of our American colleges these documents are wholly omitted in the study of the Oration, the editor has not thought it worth the while to make further annotations upon them.



our reading the sentence is : *he would have made mention if he had written* ; with the reading *ἔγραψεν* : *he would make mention* (*ἐμέμνητο* used as an impf.) *if he were writing*, the speaker putting himself back to the time when Philip was writing his letter. — *τούτων*, sc. *τῶν ἀδικημάτων*. — *εἰχόμην*, *I fastened myself to*, as a determined foe. *On these I fixed myself*, Kenn. ; *grappled with*, Wh. — *τὴν...πρεσβείαν* : Dem. was himself a member of this embassy, in 343 B. C. — *παρεδύετο*, *was trying to steal into*. The Peloponnesus was divided into factions, wh. Philip was insidiously stirring up against one another for the purpose of gaining a foothold for himself. It was through this embassy that the Peloponn. states were aroused to their danger, and Philip was prevented from invading their territory until after Chæronea. — *τὴν εἰς Εὐβοίαν* : in the same year as the preceding. — *τὴν...ἔξοδον* : these expeditions came two years later (341) ; first Oreus was delivered and its despot, Philistides, slain ; then Cleitarchus, despot of Eretria, was driven forth by Phocion.

§ 80. *τοὺς ἀποστόλους*, *the naval expeditions*, alluding probably also to the improvements in the trierarchal law introduced by him, wh. are set forth in § 102 ff. Cf. *πάντα τὸν πόλεμον τῶν ἀποστόλων γιγνομένων κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν ἐμὸν*, § 107. — *καθ' οὓς* = almost *δι' ὧν*, *per quas*. For similar use of *κατά* cf. Thuc. I. 60 ; II. 87. "This use of *κατά* is somewhat rare, but may be viewed, perhaps, as expressing the *accordance* between the instrument and the result, the cause and the effect, like the adv. *accordingly* in certain cases." LARNED. — *Χερρόνησος* : one of Philip's most cherished purposes was to gain possession of the Chersonesus, wh. at this time was partly in the power of Cersobleptes, king of Thrace and an ally of the Athenians. At first Philip contents himself with subjugating C. and occupying the strongest points in Thrace (§ 27). But in 340 B. C. Philip interferes in the contest of the Athenians w. the inhabitants of Cardia, formerly an Athenian dependency ; this leads to an open rupture and to a formal invasion of the Chersonesus on the part of Philip. Thence he turns to the Propontis to gain control of the straits that lead to the Euxine. But here his customary good fortune fails him ; in vain he besieges Perinthus and Byzantium ; the Athenian auxiliary force compels him to withdraw, and again the Chersonesus is free. — *οἱ σύμμαχοι*, sc. Tenedos, Proconnesus, etc. Cf. § 302. — *τῶν ἀδικουμένων* : gen. of the whole depending on *τοῖς μὲν, τοῖς δ'*. — *ὑμῖν...πεισθεῖσιν*, *to those who at that time followed your advice*. — *τὸ μεμνήσθαι, καὶ νομίζειν* : subj. of *περιεγένετο* to be supplied.

§ 81. *καὶ μὴν* introduces a strong asseveration, = *and verily*. — *Φιλιστίδης...Κλείταρχος* : cf. note § 79. — *ὑπάρχειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς*, *that the possession of these places might be in his hands for your injury*. — *ποιῶν ἡδίκηαι* : the

addition of the partic. makes the expression emphatic. — **πανταχοῦ** = *anywhere*. Cf. note on **πάντων**, § 5.

§ 82. **κατέλυον**, used to *lodge*. "This very technical use of *καταλύειν* is easily traced: the verb signifies (1) *to unloose* (sc. *the sandals*), (2) *to rest*, (3) *to lodge*; **παρ' ἐμοί γὰρ Γοργίας καταλύει**, Plat. *Gorg.*, 447 B. The expression is common in Plato, but rare in the orators, who employ the word more commonly of *dissolution*, *destruction*, or *termination*. HOLMES. — **προὔξενεις**, *you were their public host*. It was customary for envoys to be entertained by the *πρόξενος* of their city. The *πρόξενος* was a person appointed by the state to protect the interests of his fellow-citizens resident in foreign lands, quite analogous to our consul. Æsch. was not properly the *πρόξενος* of Eubœa, but acted as such. — **ἐχθροῦς**: notice the antithetic position of this word and **φίλοι**, and the emphasis on **σοί**. — **οὐ τοίῳν... οὐδέν**: however great the personal advantages I might have gained from selling my services to Philip and his partisans, I steadfastly opposed all their designs; and yet, notwithstanding this, you reproach me. — **παύσει**: Attic for **παύση**. — **ἀτιμώσαντες**, *by disabling you*, in a legal sense. If the prosecutor failed to obtain one-fifth of the votes he fell into *ἀτιμία*: i. e. besides incurring a fine of 1000 drachmæ, he was forever disabled from instituting a similar suit. Cf. Bœckh *Pub. Econ. Athen.*, p. 492 ff; Meier and Schöm. *Att. Proc.*, p. 734.

§ 83. **ἐπὶ τούτοις**, i. e. for the successful resistance Dem. offered to the schemes of Cleitarchus and Philistides. — **γράφαντος**: the gen. absol. seems to denote both time and concession here: *although and when*. — **τούτου γιγνομένου**: all attempts to explain the reference of these words seem unsatisfactory. (1) To make *τούτου* refer to the decree of Aristonicus as *second in order* is hardly possible, since nothing is said anywhere of any similar decree prior to this one, and because this interpretation would require *γενομένου*. (2) If *τούτου* refers to the decree of Ctesiphon, we meet with the following difficulties: (a) The word *κηρύγματος* cannot properly be used of the proposal of Ctes., wh. was as yet hardly a *ψήφισμα*. The *κήρυγμα* was the very thing Æsch. sought to prevent by his *παρανόμων γραφή*. (b) How can the aorists *ἀντέειπεν*, *ἐγράψατο* be joined to this present idea? We must then read: *and whereas the present is now the second proclamation in the theatre WHICH IS COMING OFF in my honor, Æschines, although present, neither SPOKE in opposition*, etc. But "spoke" when? (c) By referring to § 223, it will be seen that the proposal of Ctes. was *third* in order, counting that of Demomeles and Hyperides as a single one. I can find no ground for Holmes's assumption that the crowns proposed by Aristonicus and by Ctesiphon were the only ones proclaimed *in the theatre*, and therefore *this* was second to *that*; against this supposition is the statement in

§ 223 in regard to the proposal of D. and H.: τὰς αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς καὶ ταῦτὰ ῥήματ' ἔχει, ἄπερ πρότερον Ἀριστόνικος, νῦν δὲ Κτησιφῶν γέγραφεν οὕτως. (3) As the text stands (we believe it is corrupt for the additional reason that the art. τό is necessary, since we cannot say τοῦτό μοι γίγνεται δεύτερον κήρυγμα, but only τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα γίγνεται μοι δεύτερον), the following explanation suggested by V. seems most natural. From a comparison w. §§ 222, 223 we conclude that Dem. had been crowned *twice* in the theatre before Ctes. made his proposal. (What Dem. says in § 120 refers in general to his coronations, most of wh. occurred in the ordinary localities, the Pnyx and the Senate-house). Now the *first* proclamation in the theatre was that of Aristonicus, and to this one τοῦτου γιγνομένου refers, but in this way: δεύτερον γίγνεσθαι = *iterari, to be repeated*; hence the entire sentence would read, *and when this proclamation* (sc. this one of Arist.) *was made a second time in my behalf*, which was done through Demom. and Hyper., whose proposal was couched in the very same terms, and was unsuccessfully attacked by Diondas. Decrees and other legal formulæ were often thus repeated in the same terms, the names of the parties concerned alone being changed. (4) W. suggests an excellent emendation, τοιοῦτου for τούτου, τοιοῦτου referring to the similarity of the phraseology employed in the decree of Demom. and Hyper. With this change we read: *when therefore you crowned me at that time for these things...and the crown was proclaimed in the theatre, yea, even when such a proclamation was being made for me already now a second time, Æschines, although present, neither spoke in opposition, nor indicted him who had proposed it.* The learner will observe that the partic. γιγνομένου has the time of the impf., to denote the continued existence of this proclamation, wh., unlike that of Aristonicus, was the occasion of a suit. That Æsch. did not object *the first time*, the orator lets pass by; but that he should have taken no notice of the *second similar proposal*, and still attack the proposal of Ctes., wh. is of the self-same import, this Dem. makes prominent in this much-disputed sentence, as we understand it.

§ 85. συμβήσεσθαι...στεφανῶμαι: for this form of cond. sent. cf. G M T. 444, 689. 2; H. 946, 898; G. 1403, 1522, 1497. 2; Cu. §§ 545, 548, last sentence. — ὡς ἑτέρως = *otherwise*, euphemistic for κακῶς. — τότε, sc. ὅταν ἢ νέα πράγματα, emphatic.

§ 86. οὐκοῦν, *accordingly*; marking a conclusion. The οὐκ points to the preceding negative idea, οὐ μέμψεως, κ. τ. εἰ. What is the meaning of οὐκοῦν? — μὲν has no corresponding δέ, but the implied opposition to τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων is obvious. — πάντας, sc. τοὺς χρόνους, wh. most MSS. include in the text. — τῷ νικᾶν, dat. instrum., *by the fact of my prevailing in speaking and proposing*. — προσόδους, *solemn processions*. Cf. θυσίαι καὶ πομπαί, § 216. — ὡς...ὄντων, *on the ground that, etc.*

87. **τοίνυν** : often used to resume the narration, like our *well, then*. — **τοῖς μὲν ὅπλοις, τῇ δὲ πολιτείᾳ**, *with arms indeed by you, but through statesmanship and decrees by me*. The instrum. is denoted by the dat., the agent by ὑπὸ w. genit. The critical student will notice an inversion in the order of the words ὑφ' ὑμῶν τοῖς ὅπλοις × τῇ πολιτείᾳ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ; this is intentional and gives variety. From the form of the letter X the ancient rhetoricians called it *chiasmus*. — **διαρραγῶσι**, *even though some of these should burst*; i. e. *invidia vel indignatione*. Diss. Kenn. quotes Virg. *Eclog.*, VII. 26 : *Invidia rumpantur ut ilia Codro*. Tyler follows Wh. in taking it to mean, *straining their lungs to contradict me*. — **ἕτερον**, i. e. *alius generis*. Schaef. — **ἐπιτειχισμὸν** : in § 71 we have *ἐπιτειχισμα*. Reiske and Schaef. understand the allusion to be not to Byzantium, but to the control of the grain trade, wh. was to be to Philip *an instrument of aggression* different fr. the stronghold he had lost in Eubœa. — **ἐπεισάκτω** : Boeckh *Publ. Econ. Athen.*, p. 111, calculates the amount of grain annually imported at one million medimni. The main supply came from the region bordering upon the Pontus. — **παρελθὼν**, *going along the coast*. — **αὐτῷ** : join w. *συμπολεμεῖν*. — **ἐπὶ τούτοις**, *upon these terms*. Dem. himself went on the embassy (cf. § 244) in 340 B. C. to persuade the Byzantines to resist Philip. He persuaded the Athenians to enter into an alliance w. Byzantium. When Philip saw not only the Athenians, but also the Chians, Rhodians, and Coans coming to the aid of Byzantium, he reluctantly withdrew. — **χάρακα** : by synecdoche for *χαράκωμα* = *a palisaded camp, a stockade*. — **μηχανήματ'**, *having planted engineering*.

§ 88. **ἐπερωτήσω** : *ἐπερωτᾶν* means *to ask a question again or besides* (ἐπι), as something superfluous. — **τὸ ὑμεῖς**, *the word "you."* Cf. H. 600 a; G. 955. 2; Cu. § 379. — **τὴν πόλιν λέγω** : this the orator adds in order to be able to say *τῇ πόλει* st. *ὑμῶν* in the next sentence, and thus to avoid the appearance of making himself out to be the leader and guide of his judges. — **ἄπλῶς**, *in a word, altogether*; it modifies the whole sentence. — **δοῦς** : so reads also Bekk., after the best MSS.; all other Editt. read *διδούς*, wh. denotes the time of the impf., the same as *γράφων, πράττων*. Reuter defends *δοῦς* as expressing in the way of a climax both a preterite and a perfect idea; i. e. *who gave and has given*; he also thinks the monosyllable forcible at the close of the period. V., on the contrary, objects that the ears of Dem. would never tolerate the two successive syllables *δῶς δοῦς*. Dionys. Hal. cites the close succession of the four long syllables in *ἀφειδῶς δοῦς ἐγώ* as an instance of Dem. severity of style.

§ 89. **ὁ... ἐνστάς πόλεμος**, i. e. the war between Philip and the Athenians, after the peace of 346 B. C. had been annulled. — **ἄνευ** = *χωρὶς, apart from, besides*. — **ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς... βίον**, *in all the necessaries of life*. — **τῆς νῦν εἰρή-**



νης, i. e. the peace after Chæronea, procured by Demades. — ἦν...τηρούσιν : Dem. calls to mind the refusal of the Athenians, under the influence of the Macedonian party, to support the Peloponnesians in their revolt against Alexander. — οἱ χρηστοὶ : cf. note § 30. — ἐπὶ ταῖς μελλούσαις ἐλπίσιν : the idea would be more logically expressed by ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν μελλόντων ἐλπίσιν, since the *hopes* are themselves *present* ; but the orator chose this form of expression to correspond to τῆς νῦν εἰρήνης. — διαμάρτιον : what use of the optat. here and in the following verbs? Cf. G M T. 721, 722 ; H. 870 ; G. 1507, 1510 ; Cu. § 514. — ων = τούτων ᾶ : H. 996 a ; G. 1031, 1032 ; Cu. § 598. 2. For the accus. ᾶ cf. H. 724 ; G. 1069 ; Cu. § 402. — μὴ μεταδοῖεν : the asyndeton gives emphasis. μεταδοῦναι = *to give a share of, to impart* ; μετασχεῖν = *to receive a share of, to share in*. Most Editt. read καὶ μὴ μετᾶσχοιεν, κ. τ. έ., wh., to say the least, makes the sentiment a harsh one. The omission of μὴ with Σ and Laur. S. gives a much nobler turn to the sentence. The orator utters then the prayer that these treacherous men may fail of realizing their hopes (wh. involve the destruction of their common country), and may enjoy freedom and independence in company w. those who seek to secure their country's highest good ; and, on the other hand, that they may not impart to the commonwealth that ruin of public good wh. they have aimed at as a means to promote their own private interests. The thought underlying the whole passage is that the welfare of the state involves the welfare of the individual, and vice versa. Cf. Thuc., II. 60. 2 ; Soph. *Antig.*, 188-190 ; Plato *Legg.*, p. 875, A.

§ 93. ἡ προαίρεσις, κ. τ. έ., *my policy and administration = the policy of my administration* ; an instance of *hendiadys*. Diss. remarks that this is a favorite expression w. Dem. Cf. §§ 192, 292, 317. Notice the rhetorical order wh. makes the object of the sentence more prominent. — καλοκαγαθίαν : this word may be translated *honorableness, spirit of honor, generosity ; Edelmut*h (Jacobs). The mental characteristics of the καλὸς κάγαθός were *honor, courage, magnanimity*. *Magnanimity*, perhaps, best renders the word here, as contrasted with κακίαν = *meanness*.

§ 94. μεμψάμενοι...ἄν = *έμέμψασθε ἄν* : cf. G M T. 215 ; H. 987 ; G. 1308. 2 ; Cu. § 595. 2. — έν...χρόνοις, sc. when Byzantium joined Chios, Rhodes, etc., in the so-called Social War against Athens, 357-355 B. C. — ἀδικουμένους : how does ἀδικεῖν differ fr. ἀδικεῖσθαι in meaning? — σύμβουλον...ρήτορα : though *generals* had often gained that honor for the state, he was the first one who was merely a *statesman* to achieve this.

§§ 95-101. DEMOSTHENES CITES EXAMPLES FROM ATHENIAN HISTORY IN JUSTIFICATION OF HIS FOREIGN POLICY. βλασφημίας...συκοφαντίας = *defamations (βλάπτω, φημί), malicious slanders (σῦκον, φαίνω,*



from the false accusations often brought for robbing the sacred fig-trees. Cf. note on *συκοφάντης*, § 112). — *τῶν Βυζαντίων* : Æsch. nowhere in his speech attacks the Byzantines ; we must suppose this to be an interpolation, or, what is more probable, that Æsch. omitted this mention of the Byzantines fr. the revised edition of his oration, wh. he made in Rhodes, out of regard for the Rhodians who were the allies of the Byzantines. Cf. A. Schaef., III., Beilage III., p. 77. Cf. Introduction. — *εἴ τι, st. ὅ τι, in case that, etc.* — *οὔσας* : G M T. 878, 904 ; H. 981, 929 ; G. 1579, 1588 ; Cu. § 593. — *ὑπάρχειν...εἰδότας* : emphatic st. simply *εἰδέναί*, lit. *you exist knowing*. Cf. § 228 : *ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωσμένους*. The partic. is used as a predicate adj. ; cf. G M T. 830. — *τῷ...συμφέρον*, but also from the fact that it was to your advantage so to conduct affairs as I have conducted them. — *καθ' ὑμᾶς*, in your day. Not to be taken too literally, as the battle of Haliartus, mentioned below, occurred in 395 B. C. — *τῇ πόλει* : dat. agent w. *πεπραγμένων*. — *καὶ...καὶ...πράττειν*, for it is proper both that a man in private and that a state in public should always endeavor to shape the future with respect to the most illustrious precedents of the past.

§ 96. *ἄρμοσταῖς* : these were the notoriously unpopular governors placed by the Spartans, during their supremacy, over their dependencies. The state of things described here is recognized as existing immediately after the close of the Peloponn. War. For explanation of these historical allusions let the student refer to Grote's, Thirlwall's, or Smith's History, and to Thuc., IV. 66, 74 ; VIII. 95 ; Xen. *Hellen.*, II. 2. 3 ; Plut. *Lysand.*, cap. 13, 14. — *ἄλλας νήσους*, other islands, i. e. besides Eubœa and Ægina, as Lesbos, Samos, Melos. Cf. Xen. *Hellen.*, II. 2. 5 ; 3. 6. It would seem more natural to have *Ἀίγιαν* come just before *ἄλλας νήσους*. Many Editt. read *τὰς ἄλλας νήσους*, wh. is interpreted either as an instance of the pleonastic use of *οἱ ἄλλοι* = *the rest*, sc. *islands* (but against this is the mention of Ægina and Eubœa already made), or as meaning *all the remaining islands* (but the Lacedæmonians did not obtain control of nearly all). W. accepts Dobræus's emendation, *Κέω τὰς* for *Κλεωνᾶς*, and objects to Cleonæ as not being, like the rest, in *the circle about Attica*. — *ναῦς...τείχη* : the Athenian navy was limited to 12 ships, and the long walls were razed to the ground. — *Κόρινθον* : the Athenians joined an alliance of the Thebans, Corinthians, and Argives against Sparta. The allied forces were defeated in a battle fought near Corinth, 394 B. C., wh. circumstance gave the name Corinthian to a feeble war that lasted eight years and was terminated by the peace of Antalcidas. — *ἂν ἐχόντων* = *ἂν εἶχον*, might have borne many grudges. Cf. § 258, where *ἂν ἔχων* = *ἂν ἔχοιμι* : cf. G M T. 214 ; H. 987 ; G. 1303. 2. — *τῶν πραχθέντων*, for the things that were done ; genit. cause. — *τὸν Δεκελεικὸν πόλεμον* : the last part of the Peloponn. War was thus named from

the occupation of *Decelea* by the Lacedæmonians, in 413 B. C., as a base of operations against Athens. Diss. calls attention to the admirable structure of this period: the participles at the beginning (*ἀρχόντων, κατεχόντων*) describe the threatening situation (*οὔτ' ἀκίνδυνα*), that at the end (*έχόντων*) gives the reason why the Athenians might have held aloof (*οὔθ' ὑπὲρ εὐεργετῶν*); while in the middle comes the principal sentence (*έξήλθετε*), wh. is thereby rendered less emphatic.

§ 97. *πέρας...τηρῆ*: this passage has been much lauded by the ancient critics. Lucian in his *Encom. de Demosth.* compares it with *Iliad*, XIII. 322–328. — *κἄν ἐν οἰκίσκῳ*, *even though one should shut himself up in a cage and keep watch*. Harpocr. makes *οἰκίσκῳ* = *μικρῶ τιμὴ οἰκήματι*. Didymus in Harpocr. renders it *ὀρνιθοτροφείῳ*, wh. may be the origin of the ludicrous interpretation of the Scholiast: “Man must die anyhow, even though he change his manner of life, and, fancying himself to be a bird, shut himself up in a bird-cage.” — *τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς...τὴν ἀγαθὴν*, *men that are good, the hope that is good*; generic use of the article. — *προβαλλομένους*, *casting before themselves*, as a shield; cf. § 301. Professor Tyler calls attention to the same figure in *Ephesians*, vi. 16.

§ 98. *πρεσβύτεροι*: the events referred to occurred some 40 years before the delivery of this speech. — *έπειδή*: the unusual order of this sentence is occasioned by the emphatic position given to *Λακεδαιμονίους*. — *Λεύκτροις*: cf. note § 18. — *διεκωλύσατε*: in 369 B. C. the Thebans invaded Lacedæmon and threatened the destruction of Sparta, but were hindered by an Athenian force sent out under Iphicrates, and finally compelled to retire from Laconia. — *οὐδ'...διαλογισάμενοι*, *nor taking into account what those men had done for whom you were about to incur danger*.

§ 99. *καὶ γάρ*: *καὶ* is used elliptically; *and* you did so, i. e. take no account of, etc. *γάρ* is expegetical, introducing the fuller statement of *διαλογισάμενοι*. — *τούτων* refers back to *οἰκίσκῳ* used in a collective sense, and is genit. cause w. *ὀργῆν*. — *ὑπολογισθε* has for its original meaning *reckon in the account*. — *ἄν* = *τούτων* ἄ: cf. note § 89. — *Εὐβοίαν*: in 357 B. C. Eubœa was divided into two factions, one of wh. had called in the aid of the Thebans for overthrowing democratic institutions. By the aid of the Athenians the Thebans were driven out, and the old regime was re-established. Cf. *Æsch.*, § 85; *Diod.*, XVI. 7. — *Ἔρωπὸν*: Oropus, situated on the border between Attica and Bœotia, had long been a bone of contention between these two states. In 366 B. C. Themison and Theodorus, the despots of Eretria, w. aid of the Thebans seized the place, wh. then belonged to Athens. The question of right of control came before a court of arbitration, and was decided in favor of Athens. But the Thebans declined to give up Oropus. Hence arose the famous *δίκη περὶ Ἔρωπου*; cf.

Diod., XV. 76; Xen. *Hellen.*, VII. 4. 1. After Chæronea the possession of Oropus was guaranteed the Athenians by Philip. — **ἐθειλοντῶν...τριηραρχῶν**, *voluntary trierarchs*, in addition to the regularly appointed trierarchs, who did not suffice for that year. On the office of the trierarchy vid. Diet. Antiq. and note § 102. — **οὕτω**, sc. *εἰπεῖν μέλλω*.

§ 100. **καὶ** modifies the weaker idea of **τὸ σῶσαι** in contrast w. the stronger **τὸ ἀποδοῦναι**. "*Merely*" expresses it very well. — **τὴν νῆσον**, i. e. Eubœa. — **τὸ...ἀποδοῦναι**, *in that when you had become established as masters of their persons and their cities you restored these rightfully to those who had themselves done you injury*. — **καταστάντες**: government? Cf. H. 940; G. 927; Cu. § 570. — **ὑπολογισάμενοι** is preceded in all the MSS. except in Σ, L, A<sup>2</sup>, by *ἐν οἷς ἐπιστεύθητε*, wh. is probably a gloss from the corresponding passage in Æsch., § 85. — **τῆς...ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας**: most MSS. and Editt. place *ἐνεκα* either after or before *Ἑλλήνων*. *ἐνεκα* is, however, not essential. The constr. *στρατείας ποιεῖσθαι τῆς ἐλευθερίας* is closely related to the constr. *τοῦ Φωκέας ἀπολέσαι* expressing purpose or object, and has underlying it the idea of price or value. Cf. *de F. L.*, § 76: *πᾶσ' ἀπάτη καὶ τέχνη συνεσκευάσθη τοῦ περι Φωκέας δλέθρου*. Larned remarks upon the periodic form of the whole statement concerning the foreign administration of the orator as follows: "He first speaks of what the honor of Athens required, §§ 62 - 72; he next sets forth his own actions as being in accordance with the demands of that honor, §§ 73 - 94; he concludes w. what Athens had done in time past honorable to herself, §§ 95 - 100; thus uniting the whole topic in the one point of the honor of Athens."

101. **εἴτ'**: of succession of thought. — **ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς, κ. τ. ἐ.**, *when the deliberation was in a certain sense in behalf of herself*; in the cases cited it was in behalf of others. — **νῆ Δία**, *yea verily*; the ironical force is manifest. Cf. § 117. — **οὐκ ἂν ἀπέκτεινέ...εἰ...ἐπεχείρησα**: cf. G M T. 410; H. 895; G. 1397; Cu. § 537. Some of the best MSS. have *ἂν* w. *ἐπεχείρησα*. How would this modify the clause? Cf. G M T. 245, 506; G. 1338, 1421. 3. — **λόγῳ μόνον**, *to tarnish by word only*; for it could be tarnished in no other way. *λόγῳ* is in contrast w. *ἔργον*, and means simply *by counselling*. — **εἰ ἠβούλεσθε...ἦν**: how does this cond. sent. differ fr. that noticed last?

IV. §§ 102-109. DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION. **τούτων ἐξῆς**, *next in order to these just mentioned*. — **πάλιν αὖ**, *once again*. — **καταλυόμενον**, *in a state of dissolution*. — **ἀτελεῖς**, *exempted*; cf. *ἀτελής τῶν ἄλλων λειτουργιῶν*, Dem. c. Mid., § 155. — **ἀπὸ**, *by the payment of*. Diss. cites *ἀπὸ σμικροῦ*, Aristoph. *Plut.*, 377. There were four forms of the trierarchy. In its original form every wealthy citizen was required to furnish the state one trireme. Throughout this earliest period, this duty was an object of ambition to the wealthiest citizens. Later, when the citizens were reduced in wealth, prob-

ably soon after the disastrous Sicilian expedition in 412 B. C., two were permitted to unite in a syntrierarchy. The system became gradually more inefficient, and in 357 B. C. came the third form. A law was enacted according to which the 1200 wealthiest citizens (120 fr. each tribe) were required to furnish and maintain the navy. These contributors (*συντελεῖς*), as they were called, were divided into 20 classes of 60 each, called *συμμορίαί*, and these classes were subdivided into companies of 15 each, and each company (*συντέλεια*) had the charge of one trireme. (In § 104 it is stated that 16 were found in each company; Böekh supposes the 16th to be a kind of overseer or chief of the company.) But, in order to make the system more efficient, there was formed a smaller board, composed of the 300 richest men selected from the 1200. These were called the *ἡγεμόνες* or *ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν συμμοριῶν*, and constituted a general committee of administration. They advanced money, let out the contracts, made the purchases, etc., and levied the tax equally upon all their copartners. By this system every contributor paid exactly the same amount of tax irrespective of the amount of his income. It is easily seen how the rich, by shrewd management in letting out the contracts and apportioning the tax, might exempt themselves from any payment, and how inefficient a navy thus provided must become. The reform in the trierarchal law was proposed by Dem. as *ἐπιστάτης τοῦ ναυτικοῦ* in 340 B. C., and consisted in assessing every citizen according to his wealth. One trireme was to be furnished by every 50 talents of property value, or by every 10 talents rated, the rate being one fifth of the whole. The maximum that could be claimed from any one was three triremes and a tender. Cf. Böekh. *Publ. Econ. Athen.*, Book IV. — **ἀπολλύοντας**: so reads Σ; V. follows. All the other MSS. and Editt. (so far as I know) insert *τὰ ὄντα* before this partic. as its object. V. makes the partic. agree with *τοὺς πλουσίους* and govern *τοὺς...κεκτημένους*, and translates: *et cives mediocres aut tenues perdere*. This form of expression receives support from the similar statement in § 104: *τοὺς δ' ἀπόρους τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπιτρίβουσιν*. — **ἔτι** = *præterea*. — **τῶν καιρῶν**, *missing its opportunities*, for want of promptness.

§ 103. **ἀγῶνα**: Holmes joins this word first with *γραφεῖς* as a cognate accus. after passive const., and then again with *εἰσῆλθον*. But most Editt. regard *γραφεῖς* as used absolutely. The entire expression is best rendered: *and having been indicted I entered upon a trial of this kind* (i. e. the same kind of trial as that which Ctesiphon is now undergoing, sc. *γραφὴ παρανόμων*) *before you and was acquitted*. Cf. *εἰσῆλθον τὴν γραφὴν*, § 105. “*Dicitur, ut constat, εἰσέρχασθαι, εἰσιέναι et de reo et de actore aut accusatore.*” Diss. — **τὸ μέρος**, sc. *πέμπτον*. The ordinal adj. is omitted, as here, in §§ 222, 250; but it is expressed in § 266. Cf. note on *ἀτιμώσαν-*



τες, § 82. — τοὺς δευτέρους καὶ τρίτους, *the second and third ranks*, after the ἡγεμόνες τῶν συμμοριῶν in the order of the valuation of their property. — διδόναι, *attempted to give*, i. e. *offered*: an impf. de conatu. So ἐδίδουσαν, § 104. — εἰ δὲ μή, *but if not*, i. e. *but if I should not μὴ θείναι*; we can best translate it, *but otherwise*, as it expresses the alternative to ὥστε μὴ θείναι. Cf. G M T. 478; H. 906; G. 1417. — εἰάν ἐν ὑπωμοσίᾳ: acc. to Meier and Schöm. *Att. Proc.*, p. 285, the ὑπωμοσία was a declaration under oath that one had the purpose to bring a γραφὴ παρανόμων against a decree or measure before the assembly for deliberation. The effect of this declaration was either to prevent the final vote by wh. a bill became a νόμος, or, in case the bill was already passed, to stay its operation until the complaint παρανόμων had been tried and decided in the proper court. In the midst of this process the author of a bill could *drop it and leave it under affidavit or protest*. — καταβάλλοντα: the more usual reading is καταβαλόντα, wh. is transl. by Kenn., *having entered it in the public register* (i. e. ἐν τῷ Μητρώῳ, where the public archives were kept). With this agree Bremi, Reiske, Holmes, et al. But this rendering is impossible w. our reading (pres. partic.), and one cannot let a bill go by default *before* it has been recorded. The transl., *dropping it to leave it under protest*, seems most in harmony w. the context. This view is preferred by Wh., Diss., W., V., et al.

§ 104. ἦν = ἐξῆν. — αὐτοῖς μὲν... ἀναλίσκουσι... ἐπιτρίβουσιν: in appos. w. αὐτοῖς dependent on ἦν. ἐπιτρίβειν is similar to our English, *to grind the faces of the poor*. — μικρὰ καὶ οὐδὲν: our Engl. idiom has a disjunctive particle, *little or nothing*. — τὸ γιγνόμενον, *the amount resulting by rate according to their property*. — τιθέναι depends gramm. on ἦν, but logically on the idea of συνέβη contained in ἦν. — δυοῖν, sc. τριηρῶν. This contribution would come from one who possessed property to the value of 100 talents, or 20 talents of ratable value. — τῆς μιᾶς, *of the single one*, that would have to be furnished in compliance with the old law. — δὴ, *as I have said*, viz. in § 103. — ἐδίδουσαν, cf. διδόναι, § 103.

§ 107. δοκῶ: the personal st. impers. const., as often; the 3d plur. to be supplied w. οἱ πλούσιοι. — ἀν... ἐθέλειν = ἀν ἐθέλοιεν. Cf. G M T. 204, 205; H. 964; G. 1308. 2; Cu. § 575. 1. — τοῦ... ποιεῖν: gen. price, expressing purpose: *for the sake of doing, to do*. Notice how the order of the words gives emphasis to the contrast in μικρὰ βοηθῆσαι... μικρὰ ἀναλῶσαι. — καθυφείναι: composition? Transl., *to compromise*, Kenn.; lit. *to let slip in an underhand manner*. — τῷ... σεμνύνομαι, *pride myself upon or because of*, w. dat. of cause; but the verb is more commonly followed by ἐπί. — τῷ πείραν ἔργῳ δεδωκέναι, *and upon the fact that it* (sc. τὸν νόμον) *has given proof of itself by actual experience*. Cf. a similar expression in § 195. —

**πάντα... πόλεμον** : this refers, acc. to Grote, Cap. XC., to the entire period of hostility fr. the renewal of the war in August, 340 B. C., to the battle of Chæronea in August, 338 B. C. — **ἱκετηρίαν** : the suppliant was wont to place a wreath or twig, usually of olive, wound about with woollen bands, upon the altar of the deity whose favor was sought. The Scholiast informs us that there was an altar to Artemis in Munychia, to wh. seamen and trierarchs used to repair to offer their supplications and make known their grievances. — **τῶν ἀποστολέων**, the naval board, wh. had ten members, whose duty it was to superintend the affairs of the ἀπόστολοι. — **ἐδέθη** implies that they had the power of imprisonment. — **καταλειφθεῖσα**, abandoned, because of its slowness or unseaworthiness; **ἀπελείφθη** = left behind in port. — **αὐτοῦ**, here, i. e. in the harbor of Peiræus, as opposed to **ἐξω** = outside, at sea.

§ 108. **ἐγίνετο**, were habitually occurring. — **τὸ δ' αἴτιον**, lit. and as regards the cause; in apposition w. the following sentence; similar are **σημείον δέ, τεκμήριον δέ**. Cf. Dem. de Cherson., § 32. — **ἐν... ἦν**, lay upon. — **τὰ ἀδύνατα**, cases of inability, to furnish the required quota. — **πάντ'... ἐγίνετο**, accordingly all requirements were wont to be met. — **δόξαι, κ. τ. ἐ.** : the plur. expresses repeated instances of the renown, etc. — **βάσκανον, κ. τ. ἐ.** : "No sordid envy, no rancor, no malignity... and no meanness." Leland. For other instances of **βάσκανος**, a favorite word w. Dem., cf. §§ 119, 132, 242, 317.

§ 109. **ἐν... τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν** = home or domestic affairs as opposed to **ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς** = foreign affairs. — **ἀντὶ... συμφερόντων**, in preference to the common interests of all the Greeks.

(c) §§ 110–119. THE QUESTION OF ACCOUNTABILITY. **τοίνυν**, now then, to proceed. — **τὸ** belongs to the whole sentence introduced by **ὡς**, and is subj. accus. of **δεδηλωσθαί**. Transl., the statement that, etc. — **μοι**, dat. agent w. perf. pass. — **τὰ μέγιστα γε**, the most important, with emphasis (from **γε**) on *most*. The orator alludes to the last contest w. Philip, wh. ended w. Chæronea. — **ὑπολαμβάνων**, supposing. **ὑπολαμβάνειν** = *subponere*. — **ἀποδοῦναι** : why rather than **δοῦναι**? — **ὁμοίως**, equally, all the same, as though I had made mention of my remaining measures, in wh. case **μοι** below is dat. of int. w. **ὑπάρχειν**, exists for me. Cf. § 39. So Diss., Bremi, Wh., Jacobs, and most Editt. But some prefer to join **ὁμοίως** more directly w. **μοι**, in the sense of *equally with me*. Transl., nevertheless the consciousness of these facts exists as my witness in each of your hearts.

§ 111. **τῶν... λόγων** depends on **τοὺς πολλοὺς**, wh. is the obj. of both **μαθάνειν** and **συνεῖναι**. — **ἄνω καὶ κάτω διακυκῶν**, sursum et deorsum permiscendo, V.; *das Oberste and Unterste durch einander rührend*, Jacobs; Holmes paraphrases it, *in a bewildered medley*. — **παραγεγραμμένων νόμων** :

in a *γραφὴ παρανόμων* the prosecutor was obliged to publish in parallel columns the laws and the proposed measures that were attacked as contravening them. — *διακεχείρικα*: this verb is used especially of the administration of financial affairs.

§ 112. *ἐπαγγειλάμενος*, *having offered of my own accord*. “*δέδωκα* in connection w. *ἐπαγγειλάμενος* amounts to *ἐπιδέδωκα*. On the subj. of *ἐπίδοσεις* (patriotic donations) cf. Smith’s *Dict. Antiq.*” HOLMES. — *τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων*: these are mentioned as being subject to the most rigid scrutiny for the discharge of their official duties. — *φιλόδωρον*, *munificent, generous*. *φιλο* in composition is active when it is the first, but passive when it is the second part of the compound; e. g. *φιλόανθρωπος* = loving man, *θεόφιλος* = beloved of God. So *φιλόδωρος* = fond of giving. — *τοὺς συκοφάντας*, *and to bring him before the Pettifoggers and to appoint these to audit his donations*. The art. *τοὺς* is used to point out an analogy to *εἰς τοὺς λογιστάς* as the regular commission or board for auditing accounts. The opprobrious term *συκοφάντης* was applied to a class of men who made it their business to play the spy upon their fellow-citizens, in order that by threatening an accusation they might extort “hush-money” from violators of law, or levy “black-mail” upon innocent persons. For the etymology of the term cf. note on *συκοφαντίας*, § 95. But L. and Sc. in the 6th Oxford Edit. prefer the following, wh. seems to point directly to the actual use of the word: “*one who brings figs to light by shaking the tree; hence one who makes rich men yield up their fruit by informations, and other vile arts.*” The comic poets, particularly Aristoph. (cf. *Acharn.*, 818–828), hold this class of men up to contempt and ridicule. The term has been variously rendered: *pettifogger, partisan, slanderer, informer*. This and the following sections contain the *ἄφυκτος λόγος* of the orator, as Æsch. calls it. Its fallacy, however, is apparent. Dem. skilfully avoids the real issue. The question was not whether Dem. should first give account of his *donations*, but of his *administration*; for such an account must first prove what he had thus far simply asserted, viz. that he had made *bona fide donations*, and not stolen fr. the state with one hand what with the other he had given as a pretended donation. To be sure, when this speech was delivered this point was fully proved; the accounts of Dem. had long ago been audited and approved; but at *the time* Æsch. made his complaint (some 7 years before) the charge of illegality on this score was technically just.

§ 113. *τῷ θεωρικῷ*: cf. note, § 55. — *ἐπέδωκα*, *I gave a donation of money*. *ἐπιδιδόναι* = lit. *to give in addition to the amount due*. The author of the *Lives of the Ten Orators* (Pseudo Plut., p. 846) places this donation at 10,000 drachmæ. — *ἐπήνεσεν... ὑπέυθυνον*: this is professedly quoted fr. the proposal of *Ctes*. The common reading inserts *ἡ βουλή* as

subj. of ἐπήνεσεν, but Σ omits this most properly, as V. remarks, since Æsch. did not accuse the *Senate*, but Ctes. only. Observe that Dem. adroitly substitutes this verb (= ἐπαινεῖν ἔγραψε) for στεφανοῦν ἔγραψε. — οὐ περὶ τούτων, κ. τ. εἰ: *yes, but not (did he propose to laud me) on account of those things for which I was held responsible, but for what donations I made, O pettifogger!* — τειχοποιῶς: cf. note § 55. — τάνηλωμένα, *the money expended*; this was, acc. to Æsch. in the passage cited below, in addition to the 10 talents received fr. the state, the sum of 100 minæ fr. his own purse; but acc. to *Lives of the Ten Oratt.*, p. 851, this sum was 3 talents. — ὅδι: i. e. Ctesiphon. The demonstrative ἰ has the *deictic* force = *here present*. So οὐτοσί below.

§ 114. ἤθεσιν, *in vestris quidem moribus*. Diss. "It was in their very *natures* not to require such a thing" (Larned), sc. as to give account of donations. Riske, Schaef., Dind., prefer the reading ἔθεσιν = *customs, practices*, as opposed to νόμοις. Cf. § 275; Isocr. *Panegy.*, § 152: ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἤθεσι τοῖς αὐτοῖς διαμένουσιν. — Ναυσικλῆς was leader of the forces sent to aid the Phocians in 352 B. C. Cf. Diod. XVI. 37. — ὅτε: some Edit. read ὅτι; but both the idea of time and of cause may be expressed by ὅτε, and, while *cause* is natural as corresponding to ἐφ' οἷς above, *time* seems required w. the change of tense in ἐστεφανοῦντο. — Διότιμος: in *Lives of the Ten Oratt.*, p. 844, he is called one of the leaders of the people, and in Arrian *Anab.*, I. 10. 4, he is named as one of the statesmen whose surrender Alexander demanded. — Χαρίδημος: a brave soldier, leader of a mercenary force, who rendered the Athenians great service in their Thracian expeditions. Dem., in his *Orat. c. Aristocr.*, §§ 151, 185, 188, speaks of his receiving a crown. — ἐστεφανοῦντο: why this change of tense? Drake supposes that the perfect (ἐστεφάνωται, τετίμηται) denotes that Nausicles and Neoptolemus were still living, the imperfect (ἐστεφανοῦντο) that Diotimus and Charidemus were dead. But this supposition seems true only in case of Neoptolemus; at least of the others it is not known whether they were alive or dead. V. suggests that the perf. represents the act as completed, the impf. as customary. — Νεοπτόλεμος: the rich man referred to in Dem. *c. Mid.*, § 215. He was probably present; hence οὐτοσί. — ἔργων, sc. δημοσίων. — ἂν εἴη...εἰ...ἔξίσται...ὑφέξει: to make a regular cond. sent., what forms would be required in the conditional to correspond to the consequent clause? How would this change affect the sense? — ὑφέξει, *shall subjoin accounts*, the prep. ὑπό denoting *under* or *below*; here in the sense of *at the foot* of his list of donations. The orator aims to show here that usage was on his side. The precedents he cites may have been exactly in point; but unless they were, his argument fails in so far as he does not prove, but simply assumes, that these men received their honors *before* they had rendered their account.



§ 115. **τούτοις** : dat. int. w. **γεγενημένα** : *the very decrees passed in honor of these men.*

§ 117. **οἷς** : supply **τούτων** as antecedent in the same constr. as **τῆς ἀρχῆς**. — **οὐκοῦν οὐδ' ἐγώ**, and therefore I am not either. The **οὐκ** in **οὐκοῦν** looks back to **οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος** just preceding, and implies an interrogatory, *am I not οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος?* — **ταῦτά γάρ...δήπου**, for I presume I have the same rights w. reference to the same things as the rest of mankind. The sarcasm of this truism need hardly be pointed out. — **ἔπεδωκα** : the punctuation varies in diff. Editt., most placing a colon here and after **ἤρχον** and **ἤρξα**. But to put these statements as suppositions in the interrogatory form seems very suitable to the idea. *Have I given donations? (very well), for this I am praised, etc.* The same is true of §§ 198, 274. — **οὐκ ὦν** : the partic. is causal : *while or since I am not.* — **ἔδωκα** = **ἔπεδωκα**. “The simple verb may follow after the more complete form.” V. — **δέδωκα** : this was true at the time he said it, but not when the suit was first brought, 7 years before. — **νῆ Δί', ἀλλ'**, *yea, verily, but did I discharge my official duties in an unjust manner?* A more forcible form of introducing an objection than the more usual **ἀλλ' νῆ Δία**. — **εἶτα** gives a certain degree of surprise and indignation to the inquiry. — **εἰσήγον**, sc. *εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον*. W. understands this, not of leading to court to answer charges of unsatisfactory accounts, as Diss. seems to take it, but of the presentation of the accounts already audited and approved by the *Logistæ* to the general court for confirmation ; at this time any citizen might bring in a complaint for malfeasance or fraud, in response to the customary invitation : *τίς κατηγορεῖν βούλεται* ; Cf. Meier and Schöm., p. 103. — **οὐ κατηγορεῖς** : most Editt. punctuate, as this, with a mark of interrogation, but translate as if *τί* or *διὰ τί* = *why?* preceded. Voem. objects to this punctuation on the ground that thus we get the opposite sense (*did you not accuse me?* meaning *yes*) to what is intended. But this is not necessarily the sense. The statement receives a sarcastic force from the interrogative form : *you did not accuse me?* Doubtless, the orator's tone of voice more clearly indicated this sarcasm, as also in the preceding **νῆ Δί'...ἤρξα**. Cf. Dem. *de F. L.*, § 25 : **εἶτα τότ' οὐκ ἔλεγες παραχρῆμα ταῦτα οἰδ' ἐδίδασκες ἡμᾶς** ;

§ 118. **ἑστεφανώσθαι** : to be understood of the *proposal* to crown. — **οἷς...τοῦ προβουλεύματος** : “the construction is **τούτοις γὰρ τοῦ προβουλεύματος** & **οὐκ ἐγράψατο**, for by those parts of the preliminary resolution which he has not indicted it will be clearly proved that he is malicious in those which he does attack.” Wh. To make the attack upon a part and not upon the whole of this transaction is a proof of malicious intent.

§ 119. **φησιν ἡ βουλὴ** : the Senate had adopted the proposal of Ctes. Cf. note, § 9. — **παρανόμων γράφῃ**, you indict as illegal. *παραν.* is genit.

crime or charge. — οὐχ ὁ τοιοῦτος : the art. ὁ is used generically, to designate one of a class, *not such an one?* The orator is fond of winding up a division of his speech by some such sharp appeal as this. Cf. §§ 52, 101 ; de F. L., 66. In comparing the parallel argument of Æsch. we notice an anticipation of one point wh. Dem. does not touch upon, sc. that his office does not fall within the intent of the law of accountability, since it is not a regular magistracy (ἀρχή). From the silence of Dem. we must infer either that Æsch. inserted this argument in the later edition of his oration, or that Dem. judged it unwise to attempt any refutation. The answer of Dem. to this second count of the indictment is generally regarded as unsatisfactory, at least when taken from a strictly legal standpoint. How far the law requiring the incumbent of an office to give in the account of his administration prior to his receiving any public honor may have become obsolete, it is impossible to say ; that it had often been disregarded before, seems quite probable from what we know of the irregular and imperfect character of Athenian administration. And hence Dem. may have felt it quite safe to leave this point of the case out of view, as likely to be overshadowed by the argument showing the unreasonableness of being obliged to give an account of one's donations to the public service.

(d) §§ 120–122. THE PLACE OF PROCLAMATION. μυριάκις μυρίους : a rhetorical exaggeration ; yet not so great as might be, judging fr. the statements of Æsch. — πολλάκις...ἐστεφανώσθαι : notice the change in the phraseology (στεφανοῦν st. κηρύττειν), and cf. note, § 83. — σκαίως = *perverse*. — τοῦ δὲ...συμφέροντος : “etsi vero non dubium veram causam rei fuisse, ut etiam exterorum quam plurimi coronatos cives et urbem talium civium matrem admirarentur, Demosthenis ingenium agnoscas in eo, quod pulchriorem interpretationem proponit.” Diss. The same motive is appealed to by Æsch. *c. Ctes.*, § 177 ff., and by Lycurg. *c. Leocr.*, § 10.

§ 121. πλὴν...ἀναγορευέτω is a direct citation fr. the law. — ψηφίσηται, sc. ἀναγορεύεσθαι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ. — ἀναγορευέτω, sc. ὁ κήρυξ. The argument upon the third count of the indictment may be summed up thus : (1) Æsch. claims that the place of proclamation is fixed by law as follows : (a) by the people must be proclaimed in the Ecclesia ; (b) by the Senate, in the Bouleuterion ; (c) by the committee of the deme or tribe, in the deme or tribe meeting. (2) Dem. claims that the proclamation of *any* crown may be made in the theatre on the vote of the people or of the Senate. (3) Æsch., anticipating this statement, argues that the proclamation in the theatre under special vote applies only to the crowns bestowed upon Athenian citizens by foreign states. As the claim of neither can be confirmed by genuine proofs, we are unable to decide this disputed point. Most critics hold that Æsch. is here also, as in the matter of accountabil-

ity, *technically* in the right ; yet that it is manifestly improbable that the proposal of Ctes. would have been accepted by the Senate, had not *usage* been on his side. But Westermann and others call in question the truthfulness of Æsch. representation, that the Athenian people had voluntarily and wholly cut themselves off from the privilege of proclaiming in the theatre the honors they themselves conferred, while permitting this very thing to be done in the case of crowns awarded by foreigners ; and they believe Æsch. guilty either of perverting the so-called Dionysiac law, or of suppressing that most essential clause cited by Dem. This opinion finds support in the language of Dem. : *νόμους μεταποιῶν, τῶν δ' ἀφαιρῶν μέρη*. But this again is the very charge Æsch. brings against Dem. Cf. *infra* : *χρήσονται τοῦ νόμου μέρει τινί, κ. τ. έ.* — *ἐλλεβορίζεις*, *purge with hellebore*, as a cure for insanity. — *αἰσχύνῃ...εἰσάγειν...μεταποιῶν...ἀφαιρῶν* : many Editt. read *εἰσάγων*. Ordinarily, what is the diff. between the partic. and the infin. after *αἰσχύνομαι* ? Cf. G M T. 903. 1 ; H. 986 ; G. 1580, 1581 ; Cu. § 594. A similar mingling of partic. and infin. without any apparent diff. in the sense, occurs in Xen. *Cyrop.*, V. 1, 21. 22. Transl., *you are not even prevented through shame from introducing, and you are not ashamed to alter and to garble.* — *φθόνου* : genit. cause, denoting the motive. — *ἀδικήματος*, *for any misdeed* ; genit. cause, denoting the charge or crime.

§ 122. *τῷ δημοτικῷ* : a sarcastic allusion to the words of Æsch. given below. — *ἔχοντα* agrees with *αὐτὸν* to be supplied as obj. of *κοιμζόμενος*. — *λόγῳ*, *by description or definition*, as opposed to *πράγμασι...πολιτεύμασι*, and in allusion to the terms of the *συγγραφή*. Some render it incorrectly, *by their speech*, wh. would require *τῷ λόγῳ* or *τοῖς λόγοις*. — *τοὺς δημοτικούς...γιγνωσκομένους* : change of constr. after *ὥσπερ* fr. nom. (*έκδεδωκῶς*) to accus. absol. Cf. § 276 ; G M T. 853 ; H. 974 ; G. 1570 ; Cu. § 588. — *ρήτὰ καὶ ἄρητα* = lat. *dicenda et tacenda* ; “names mentionable and unmentionable.” Wh. “*Billingsgate*, as the Londoners would say.” Kenn. — *ἀμάξης* : in allusion to the custom of the Athenians to revile and banter one another in most unbecoming language, while they were riding in open carts or wagons at the celebration of the Anthesterian festival, particularly on the second day, the *Χόες*. Vid. *Dict. Antiq. Dionysia*. Cf. note on *πομπείας*, § 11. This same practice was in vogue among the Athenian women at the Thesmophoria. Cf. *Cruzer's Symbol.*, IV. 462.

(e) §§ 123 - 125. TRANSITION TO THE THIRD DIVISION OF THE ORATION. *καὶ τοῦτο*, *this also*, sc. *let me say*, in addition to the statement introduced by *καὶ βοᾶς* above. — *ἔχειν*, *has to do with, involves*. — *λοιδορίαν βλασφημίας, κ. τ. έ.*, *but calumny involves defamations, which foes chance to utter against one another in harmony with their own proper spirit*. Cf.

note on § 10. With this cf. Cic. *pro Cael.*, 3. 6: "Sed aliud est maledicere, aliud accusare. Accusatio crimen desiderat, rem ut definiat, hominem ut notet, argumento probet, teste confirmet; maledictio autem nihil habet propositi præter contumeliam." — **ὑπέληφα**: we say in Engl., *I take it that*, expressing an opinion resulting from previous reflection. — **ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων** = *ex vita privata*, to be joined w. *κακῶς λέγωμεν*. — **τὰ ἀπόρρητα**, *things forbidden*, hence *disgraceful scandals*. Dem. has special reference to the scandalous personalities of Æsch., § 171 ff.

§ 124. **οἰδὲν ἦττον ἐμοῦ** = *ὁμοίως ἐμοί*. — **πομπεύειν** = *λοιδορεῖν*. Cf. note on *πομπείας*, § 11. — **οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα**, *not even here*, i. e. in these personalities. — **ἔλαττον, κ. τ. ἐ.**, *is he justly to come off with less*, i. e. than he gave. — **φῆ**, why the subj. ? Cf. G M T. 287, 289; H. 866, 3c; G. 1358, 1359; Cu. § 511. — **ἦν** = *ἐξῆν*. — **ὑπὲρ τούτων**: *in behalf of these*, sc. the Athenian citizens. — **εἰ περ ἠδίκουν**: *if in fact I did wrong*, as by the form of the condition he assumes. — **ἔξλειπες**, *you repeatedly neglected to do so*, sc. *λαβεῖν δίκην*.

§ 125. **ἀθῶος**, *stand clear by every consideration*. — **τῷ χρόνῳ**, *by the time*, i. e. wh. elapsed since the accusation was first made, nearly 8 years. — **τῆ προθεσμίας**, *by the statute of limitation*. Meier and Schöm. *Att. Proc.*, p. 636, state that 5 years was the limit allowed for bringing prosecutions in cases of indebtedness, recovery of estates, etc. The *γραφὴ παρανόμων* could be brought against the author of a decree only within the limit of a year after its proposal; later than this, the *decree* could still be attacked, but not its *author*. Ctesiphon, whom Dem. represents, was therefore *ἀθῶος τῆ προθεσμίας*. — **τῷ κεκρίσθαι...πρότερον**: Diss. makes this refer to the prosecutions by Diondas (§ 222), and by Patrocles for the trierarchical law (§ 105). — **τῆ πόλει δ', κ. τ. ἐ.**, *but (where) the state must needs share more or less in the reputation connected with my public transactions, there have you encountered me?* The *enthymeme* contained in this section may be stated thus: Æsch. professes to be the enemy of Dem.; but his prosecution is so conducted that it can result only in injury to the state; ergo, he is the enemy of Dem. only in name, but of the state in fact. The student will recollect that this same charge of being dishonest *as an accuser* was made by Dem. against his rival at the outset of his speech (§§ 12–16). There, as here, this charge rests on the fact that Æsch. prosecuted so long after the alleged crimes had been committed, that now they could not be properly punished even if proved; but *there* the conduct of Æsch. is explained as due to personal hatred, *here* as influenced by a purpose to injure the state. With this sharp reproach, the orator concludes what may be regarded as his defence, and proceeds to the attack.



## THIRD DIVISION OF THE ORATION.

§§ 126–323. STRICTURES ON THE PERSONAL CHARACTER AND PUBLIC CAREER OF ÆSCHINES, AND REVIEW OF HIS OWN GENERAL POLICY. (a) §§ 126–131. PERSONAL CHARACTER OF ÆSCHINES AS AN ORATOR AND A MAN. (b) §§ 132–323. THE CAREER OF ÆSCHINES AS A CITIZEN AND STATESMAN CONTRASTED WITH THAT OF DEMOSTHENES.

(a) §§ 126–131. **δέδεικται**, *has been indicated to all*, sc. by his preceding arguments. The quiet assurance of the orator, as if certain of his case, probably suggested to the ancient critics the idea that a burst of applause followed his last sentence, wh. he interpreted as a clear proof of his acquittal. We may well believe that the orator had more convincing, if less palpable, tokens than this of his power over his auditors. — **δέ** introduces an *anacoluthon*. The apodosis that would regularly follow *ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν... δέδεικται*, is suppressed under the influence of passion. (Cf. Hermiog. *Περὶ Ἰδεῶν*, II. p. 342.) V. supposes that the orator, had he spoken calmly, might have expressed himself thus: *χρὴ περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν ὧν εἰπέην, ἀπορῶ δέ, τοῦ πρώτου μνησθῶ*. But it is only after a vehement outburst of passion (in §§ 127, 128), called forth by the invective of Æsch., that the orator proceeds (in § 129) to speak of the personal history of his opponent, without regard to the structure of his previous period. — **βλασφημίας** should regularly come *after εἰρημένας*, but is placed *before* it for the sake of rhetorical emphasis. Similar are *τὴν τότε... δόξαν ὑπάρχουσαν*, § 98, *τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀφικνουμένους*, § 201, *τῇ... ἀρχῇ πραττομένη*, § 293. W. — **αὐτὰ** = *by themselves, alone*. Cf. § 168. As Æsch. before occasioned the self-laudation of Dem., so now he is blamed for the personal invective uttered by his rival. We could wish that Dem. had magnanimously refused to follow the example of Æsch. in this regard. — **τίνων** = *ἐκ τίνων*. — **διασύρει**: Cf. note on *διέσυρε*, § 27. — **μετρίων** has the same sense here as in § 10.

§ 127. **Αἰακός, κ. τ. έ**: the three judges in Hades, who were regarded as models of stern and inflexible justice. — **σπερμολόγος**: Deriv.? For the meaning Schaeff. cites Eustath. *Hom. Odys.*, p. 1547: *εἰδός ἐστιν ὄρνου λωβώμενον τὰ σπέρματα· ἐξ οὗ οἱ Ἄττικοι σπερμολόγους ἐκάλουν τοὺς περὶ ἐμπόρια καὶ ἀγορὰς διατρίβοντας διὰ τὸ ἀναλέγεσθαι τὰ ἐκ τῶν φορτίων φασὶν ἀναρρέοντα καὶ διαζῆν· ἐκ τούτων δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐλάγχανον κλήσιν καὶ οἱ οὐδενὸς λόγου ἀξιοί.* “*A retailer of second-hand and second-rate information.*” HOLMES. The Athenians applied the same epithet to the Apostle Paul, *Acts xvii. 18*. — **περίτριμμα ἀγορᾶς**, *a hack of the market*; this term answers very nearly to our *police-court pettifogger*. — **ἄλεθρος**: the subst. used as an adj.; *a wretch of a clerk*. Cf. *ἀνθρώπους ὀλέθρους*, Dem. *c. Aristocr.*, § 202;

ὀλέθρου Μακεδόνος, *Phil.*, III. 31. Æsch. had been at one time the clerk of some of the petty magistrates. Cf. § 261. — ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ : Cf. note on ἐτραγῶδει, § 13.

§ 128. κάθαρμα, *scum, offscouring* (fr. καθαίρειν). — ἧς τῶν...οὐδέν, *when no one of those who have really enjoyed it (ἧς) would use any such expression concerning himself.* The relat. clause ἧς...τετυχηκότων performs the function of connecting this and the preceding sentence. — κὰν ἐτέρου λέγοντος : give the equivalent conditional clause in Greek to correspond to ἐρυθρίασειεν. — τοῖς...ἀπολειφθείσι, *to those destitute of it* (sc. παιδείας). — ὑπ' ἀναισθησίας, *through stupidity; aus Blödsinn*, Jacobs; to be joined w. προσποιουμένοις. They are simpletons who suppose that they can pass for educated men by simply *making a pretence to education.* — τὸ...ποιεῖν...τὸ...δοκεῖν, subj. of περιεστίν. Transl. : *there results that they cause those who hear to be in pain, whenever they speak, (but) not that they appear to be such persons (as they pretend).* τοιούτοις is attracted fr. the accus. in the predicate w. εἶναι to agree w. προσποιουμένοις. Cf. συκοφάντη, § 266.

§ 129. τοῦ = τίνος : how governed? — Τρόμης : the Schol. thinks the father of Æsch. may have had the position of assistant in the school of Elpias. In de F. L., § 249, Dem. speaks of Tromes as himself διδάσκων γράμματα. Cf. A. Schaef. I. p. 191. — χοίνικας...ξύλον, *stocks, leg-irons, ...wooden collar.* These were instruments of torture to punish refractory slaves. — μεθημερινοῖς γάμοις, *by means of midday prostitutions.* "Significatur igitur imprimis flagitiosa vita, quæ ne noctis quidem tenebris se occultaret." Diss. In regard to these reproachful personalities we remark substantially w. Schaef. I. p. 197 ff. : from Dem. *de F. L.*, §§ 200, 249, 281, it appears that the mother of Æsch. was of Athenian birth, and a priestess, but guilty of gross conduct in the discharge of her priestly office. The representation, therefore, of Dem. is, to say the least, exaggerated. These disgusting personalities have much the same character as the personal satire of comedy. To arrive at the degree of their truthfulness we must sift them of all intentional exaggeration, and view them in somewhat the same light as the mockery and satire wh. Aristophanes heaped upon Cleon, Euripides, and Socrates. What we find therein to censure, we must charge to the account, not so much of the individual orator, as of the perverted taste that took delight in the utmost license of speech upon the bema no less than upon the stage. — πρὸς τῷ Καλαμίτῃ ἥρωι, *near the hero Calamites*, i. e. near his statue. Commentators have generally understood this as referring to the same locality designated in de F. L., § 249, as πρὸς τῷ τοῦ ἥρω τοῦ ἱατροῦ, and Voemel and Westermann have identified this *Hero-physician* with the Scythian named *Toxaris*, who is mentioned by Lucian, *Scyth.* I. This Toxaris, acc. to Lucian, lived in Athens as the friend of

Solon, was buried in the Ceramicus, and subsequently deified and worshipped as the "Stranger-physician," in the belief that through advice given by his spirit the plague was stayed in Athens. The true explanation of Καλαμίτης (wh. has been made to mean by some *probe-man* or *surgeon*, by others *reed-man*, as the patron of flogging schoolmasters!) has been found, doubtless, by Professor Goodwin, whose interpretation we take from Vol. IV. Transactions of the Amer. Philol. Assoc., 1873. "His monument [sc. the physician's] existed in a mutilated state in Lucian's time, representing a Scythian *bowman* with a *strung bow* in one hand and a book in the other. Now *καλαμίτης* can mean *bowman* (or, more exactly, *arrowman*), as *κάλαμος* very often means an *arrow of reed*. It will then be simply an equivalent for *Scythian*, and it will be remembered that the police of Athens were called both *Σκύθαι* and *τοξόται*." This monument was a relic of antiquity even in the time of Dem., and he refers to it as marking a well-known locality. Recent discoveries seem to place it not far from the Theseum. — τὸν καλὸν ἀνδριάντα, *the handsome puppet*. Acc. to Diss., a sarcastic allusion to the fine figure of Æsch., and to his repose of manner in speaking. Cf. *de F. L.*, § 255. — τριταγωνιστήν : cf. §§ 209, 262, 265.

§ 130. ταῦτα, i. e. relating to his parentage. — οὐδὲ γὰρ... ἀλλ' καταρᾶται : none of the various explanations of this sentence, wh. I give in the order of my preference, seems wholly satisfactory. (1) Join the sentence closely to *ἑάσω* : I disdain to speak more about his parentage, *for that was not his parentage to which he laid claim by a happy circumstance* (this circumstance is the manœuvre by wh. he became the child of apparently respectable *Athenian citizens*, and is described in *ὄψέ γὰρ*, κ. τ. ἐ., below), *but his family was such as the people curse*, i. e. slaves by descent, who had managed to creep into citizenship. The presumption is that such characters were included in the curse pronounced by the herald in opening the meeting of the Assembly. (2) Quite a large number of critics take *ὦν ἔτυχεν* as equivalent to *τῶν τυχόντων* and as masc., and read : *he did not spring from ordinary people, but from those*, etc. (3) V. understands *ἦν* not of descent, but of belonging to as a class ; *neque enim unus ex iis erat, quorum erat casu, sed ex iis*, etc. The sense, acc. to this view, is that while Æsch. was of low parentage *by chance*, he was of base and accursed companionship *by choice*. Cf. §§ 282, 297. (4) Diss. takes *ὦν* and *οἷς* as neuter and *ἄ βεβίωκεν* as subj. of *ἦν*, and reads : *for his acts were not of an ordinary sort, but such as the people execrate*. — *ὄψέ γὰρ ποτε*, κ. τ. ἐ., *for it is quite recent — recent, do I say? nay, (μὲν οὖν) yesterday only or the day before*. — Τρόμητος, *Tromes*, = *the trembler*, would be a fitting name for a slave ; *Atrometus* = *the dauntless*, has a superior ring to it. — Γλανκοθέαν : Apollonius says in the biography of Æsch. that his mother was named by

some Γλαυκίς; add to this that Æsch. (*de F. L.*, § 78), speaks of his mother's brother as Γλαῦκος, and we may fairly infer that her real name was *Glaucis*, wh. was lengthened to do honor to the superior station of her son. So Lucian represents the old cobbler *Simon*, when he had become rich, lengthening his name to *Simonides*. — "Ἐμπούσαν was the name of a goblin wh. had the ability to assume all sorts of shapes. Aristoph. *Ran.*, 288 ff., describes this monster.

§ 131. ἐκ: "instead of; as coming out of one state into the other. The idiom is very common. Cf. Soph. *O. T.*, 454; *Antig.*, 1093, etc." HOLMES. — οὐχ ὅπως... ἀλλά, not only not ... but; without the usual καὶ after ἀλλά, as in Lys. 30. 26: οὐχ ὅπως ὑμῖν τῶν αὐτοῦ τι ἐπέδωκεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων πολλὰ ἀφῆρηται. Cf. H. 1035 a; G. 1504; Cu. § 622. 4. — ἄρα, forsooth; ironical. Cf. § 22. Point out the antithesis between this and the next sentence. As in the opening of his speech the orator defended himself first against the attacks upon his private life, so here he has directed his attack first upon the private life of Æsch. Since he treats this topic afterward at greater length, it seems as if it were introduced here for the sake of giving unity and symmetry to the structure of the oration.

(b) §§ 132-323. I. §§ 132-139. THE SUSPICIOUS CONDUCT OF ÆSCHINES IN RELATION TO ANTIPHON, TO PYTHON, AND TO ANAXINUS. ἀποψηφισθέντα, disfranchised. In 346 B. C., a general examination (διαψήφισις) of the registries of citizens took place for the purpose of testing the validity of the claim to citizenship. Among many others, Antiphon was stricken from the list (ἀποψηφίζεσθαι). In revenge for this disgrace he offered his services to Philip. — ὄν λαβόντος, κ. τ. ἐ.: the constr. of this sentence is very similar to τῆς τῶν μὲν, κ. τ. ἐ., in § 128. — ἀνευ ψηφίσματος, without a warrant. "An Athenian's house, like an Englishman's, appears to have been his castle wh. could not be entered without legal warrant for that purpose, wh. Dem. did not in this case possess." Wh. Cf. Meier and Schöm. *Att. Proc.*, p. 588.

§ 133. ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου: the famous court of Areopagus had the right in cases of extreme danger, such as conspiracies against the state, at least to order arrest and to institute legal examination. When Antiphon was discharged by the Assembly, the Areopagus arrested him again and delivered him up for trial to the Heliastic court. Cf. Meier and Schöm. *Att. Proc.*, p. 344. — ἐν οὐ δέοντι, at an inopportune, ill-timed juncture. — καὶ τὸ δίκην, κ. τ. ἐ., and slipping through the hands of justice, would have been sent out of the way by this fine-spoken gentleman. — στρεβλώσαντες: torture was applied by the Athenians either for extorting testimony or as a means of punishment; to slaves without any preliminary legal process, but to citizens only on the special decree of the Assembly.



§ 134. **σύνδικον**, *advocate*. — **ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ**: the Athenians had long contended w. the Delians for the control of the sanctuary of Apollo on the island of Delos. In 343 B. C. the Delians brought the affair for decision before the Amphictyonic council. The patriotic party at Athens, desiring greatly the election of an anti-Macedonian as advocate (since Philip had great influence in the council), contrived to transfer the election from Æsch. to Hyperides in the manner described. — **προσεέλυσθε**: so read Dind., Bekk., Lipsius, after the conjecture of Wolff, contrary to the MSS. wh. have *προείλεσθε*. *προσαιρείσθαι* = *to take to one's self in addition*; hence, *you had associated with you also that body (κάκεινην) in addition*; i. e. the Senate and Assembly invited the Areopagus to co-operate with them; otherwise, the Areopagus would have had no right to rescind the vote by wh. Æsch. had been elected. *προαιρείσθαι* = *to choose before or instead of*; hence, *you had selected it to act for you, i. e. delegated it*. The chief difficulty of the latter reading lies in *καί* (in *κάκεινην*), wh. is then best joined w. what follows. — **ὔπερθε**: one of the ten Athenian orators, and a prominent anti-Macedonian leader. Persuaded by his much-lauded *λόγος Δηλιακός* (cf. Sauppe, II. 285 ff.), fragments of wh. only remain, the council decided in favor of the Athenians. — **ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ**: the most solemn method of voting was to place the ballots (*ψῆφοι*) upon the altar for consecration preparatory to depositing them. The earliest instance of this usage is found in Herod., VIII. 123: *Διέμενον τὰς ψῆφους ἐπὶ τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος τῷ βωμῷ*.

§ 135. **μέλλοντος λέγειν** is the reading of Σ as corrected by a later hand (the original being partly erased), and of most MSS. V. and Dind. read *λέγοντος*, wh. Holmes takes as an *imperf.* and strangely renders: *when he was going to speak*. The genit. absol. constr., st. *τούτων μέλλοντα λέγειν* obj. of *ἀπήλασεν*, gives more prominence to this clause. Cf. Xen. *Anab.*, I. 4, 12; II. 24; Thuc., I. 114. — **οὐκοῦν**: the force of *οὐκ* and *οὖν* is clearly noticeable here: *when, therefore, ... then it showed him to be, etc. (did it not?)*.

§ 136. **Ἐν μὲν, κ. τ. ἐ.** *This one transaction, therefore, of this fine young fellow was of such a nature; similar of course, for why not? to those, etc.* *ἐν* as opposed to *ἕτερον* below. — **νεανίου** refers not to age, for Æsch. was at this time more than 45 years old, but to the arrogance and violence of youth. — **Πύθωνα**: a noted orator who served in 343 B. C. as the advocate of Philip in an embassy to Athens, in relation to the maintenance of the peace of Philocrates. All the information we have concerning Python's speech on the subject before us is found in the oration on the Halonnesus (§§ 18–23). This oration was formerly attributed to Dem., but is now believed to have been written and delivered by Hegesippus, a coadjutor of

Dem. on this occasion. — **πολλῶ ῥέοντι**, in the full torrent of speech. **ῥεῖν** is often used of speech. So in Aristoph. *Eq.*, 526, 527; Hor., *Sat.*, I. 7, 28, has “*salso multoque fluenti.*”

§ 137. **μετὰ ταῦθ' ὕστερον**: *thereupon* (relative time), *later* (absolute time). — **Ἀναξίνω**: a Eubœan who came to Athens about 340 B. C., probably while the preparations for the expedition to Oreus were in progress (cf. § 79), ostensibly to make purchases for Olympias, the queen of Philip. Dem. pays no attention to the reproach of his rival: cf. Aesch. c. Ctes. §§ 223, 224. — **μόνος μόνω**: the skilful collocation of the words in this sentence brings out the sense very forcibly.

§ 138. **καὶ γὰρ**: an instance of the frequent elliptical use of **καί**. — **οὕτω πῶς**, somewhat as follows. — **ἔτι** = *præterea*. — **ὦν**: attracted fr. the accus. into the case of **τούτων**. — **ὑπηρετῶν... ἐπηρεάζων** is an instance of play upon words of similar sound. — **εἰς ἀκριβῆ μνήμην**, these things are not treasured up by you for accurate remembrance; the **εἰς** indicates the aim or object. — **οὐδ' ἦν προσῆκεν ὀργήν**, nor for proper resentment. For the constr. cf. H. 995; G. 1037; Cu. § 597. — **ὑποσκελίζειν**: a colloquial word. Deriv.? — **ἀνταλλαττόμενοι**, bartering away in exchange for. Where has Dem. spoken of this before? — **διόπερ ῥᾶόν, κ. τ. ἐ**: the same sentiment is expressed in a less vigorous way in *Phil.*, III., § 55: ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ πλείονος ἀσφαλείας πολιτεύεσθαι δεδώκατε τούτοις ἢ τοῖς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν λέγουσιν.

§ 139. **τὸ μὲν... συναγωνίζεσθαι** is subj. of **δεινὸν (ἐστίν)** and has answering to it the sentence **ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ, κ. τ. ἐ**. — **πρὸ τοῦ πολεμεῖν** refers to the renewal of hostilities w. Philip after the dissolution of the peace, in 340 B. C. — **πῶς γὰρ οὐ**: parenthetic, as **οὐ γὰρ** in § 136. — **τὰ πλοῖα**: cf. note § 73. — **Χερρόνησος**: cf. note § 80. — **ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν**, upon Attica. Dem. alludes to the invasion of Locris, 339 B. C., when Philip seized Elatea (cf. § 169); before this no direct march upon Attica had been attempted by Philip. — **βάσκανος**: in what other connections has this word been used? — **ιαμβιογράφος**, writer of iambics; a contemptuous allusion to Æsch. as a poetaster and playwright. The older Editt. read **ιαμβειοφάγος** = *iambic eater*, i. e. *mouther of iambics*, referring to his bad recitation of iambics as an actor; but w. this the word **βάσκανος** and the context (**οὐδ' ἐστὼν... ψήμισμα**) do not so well harmonize. Besides, V. has shown that **ιαμβιογράφος** is the true reading of **Σ**, and cites as corroborative testimony Æsch. c. *Timarch.*, § 136: **περὶ δὲ τῶν ποιημάτων ὧν φασὶν οὗτοί με πεποιηκέναι, τὰ μὲν ὁμολογῶ, τὰ δ' ἐξαρνοῦμαι μὴ τοῦτον εἶχειν τὸν τρόπον ὃν οὗτοι διαφθείροντες παρέξονται**. — **ἐν τῷ ἑμῷ ὕδατι** = *during the time allotted me*. Each party to a suit had a given portion of time allotted him, wh. was measured by the water-clock (*κλέψυδρα*, cf. *Dict. Antiq.*). To offer an opponent the opportunity to speak “*in one's water*” was to challenge all contradiction.

This phrase explains the joke at the sobriety of Dem., sc. that other men *spoke* by water, he *composed* by it. — **αὐτὸν** : subj. of some such word as *αἰρεῖσθαι* to be supplied and depending on *ἀνάγκη ἐστίν*. — **ἔχοντ'...ζητούντα** : the partic. have a strong *causal* force here. — **παρὰ ταῦθ'**, *contrary to these*. Is there any escape from the dilemma of the alternative here presented ; if so, what ?

II. §§ 140–159. THE PART WHICH ÆSCHINES PLAYED, AS THE HIRELING OF PHILIP, IN PROVOKING THE AMPHISSIAN WAR. **ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἔγραφεν** looks back to *οὐδ' ἐστὶν ψήφισμα οὐδὲν Διοσχίρη*, § 139. — **οὐ μὲν οὖν**, *nay, no one else had a chance to say anything*. — **τὰ μὲν ἄλλα** : as contrasted w. *ἐν δ'*. — **ἐπεξεργάσατο** : what is the force of *ἐπί* in composition ? — **ἐπέθηκε τέλος**, *gave the finishing stroke*. — **τῶν Ἀμφισσέων** = *περὶ τῶν Ἀ.* So in Thuc., I. 140 : *τὸ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα*. — **τῶν Λοκρῶν** : the reverse order would be more natural : *the Locrians* (generic), sc. *the Amphissians* (specific). Amphissa belonged to the Ozolian Locrians. — **τὸ**, *this affair*, i. e. the one alluded to above in *ἐν δ'*, κ. τ. ε. This demonstrative pronominal use of the article, belonging originally to the Epic dialect, is occasionally found in the prose as well as the poetry of the best Attic period. Cf. Plato *Phæd.*, 87 c ; Soph. *Trachin.*, 1172. See Kühner's *Gramm.*, § 247. 3. — **ἐκνίψη**, *wash off*. The metaphor is familiar to all languages :

“ Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood  
Clean from my hand ? ”

SHAKESPEARE, *Macbeth*, II. 2.

**οὐτω** is the emphatic word. However much you may say, *that* you will not accomplish.

§ 141. **καὶ**, *and especially*. This solemn invocation, wh. reminds us of § 8, the orator justifies in the next paragraph. The divinity invoked is Apollo, because he is the one most directly concerned in the transactions that are now to be discussed. — **πατρῶος** : “ The ancient Attic king Ion was called the son of the Pythian Apollo, probably in consequence of the Ionians having adopted the worship of that deity from the Dorians, and the Athenians had *πατρῶαι θεοῖαι* at Delphi.” Wh. But this opinion that the worship of Apollo was derived fr. the Dorians is now generally discredited ; on the contrary, the appellation *πατρῶος* harmonizes w. the belief that the Apollo worship was fr. the first peculiar to the Ionians. — **εἰ...εἰπομι...εἶπον** : a combination of two protases w. one apodosis (*ἐπτεύχομαι*). Cf. G M T. 508, 509 ; H. 901 c. — **καὶ τότε**, *and if I did speak it, right at the very moment when*. — **πρὸς**, *with a view to ; st. for the sake of*. — **ἀνόνητόν με ποιῆσαι**, *to render me destitute of the enjoyment of any good*.

§ 142. **Τί οὖν, κ. τ. ε.**, *Why then have I made these so grave imprecations*

and assurances? — δημοσίω, the archives. — έχων...εἰδώς: strongly concessive. — ἐλάττων: *minor quam ut conficeret*. — ὅπερ πρότερον συνέβη, sc. in the acquittal of Æsch. on the famous trial (343 B. C.) for his violation of oath and neglect of duty as envoy to Philip concerning the peace. Cf. § 35.

§ 143. τὸν...πόλεμον: the circumstances that led to this war, sometimes called the "Third Sacred War," are given in the subjoined extract from the speech of Æsch. In citing this passage there is omitted, as unimportant to the question at issue, the story how this Cirrhæan plain came to be consecrated (to wh. allusion is made by Dem. in the words λόγους εὐπροσώπων, § 149). The unusual and emphatic order of the words in this sentence must not escape notice. — Ἐλάττειαν: cf. note, § 152. — ὅς refers to Philip. — εἰς ἄνθρωπον, is the author alone and singly of all our greatest calamities; or, of greater calamities than any other one individual. — ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, wh. was held immediately after the return of Æsch. fr. his mission to the Amphictyonic council. — πόλεμον Ἀμφικτυονικόν: up to this time the war w. Philip had its theatre in and about the northern possessions of Athens; but now, when it was easy to foresee that Philip, who had usurped the place of Phocis in the Amphictyonic council, would be intrusted w. the leadership of a war waged under the auspices of this council, the warning cry πόλεμον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εἰσάγεις ought not to have sounded in vain. — ἐκ παρακλήσεως, those seated together by preconcerted arrangement; lit. by summons. παράκλητος = Lat. advocatus. The orator means the Macedonian clique wh. generally sat together in the popular Assembly whenever concerted action seemed desirable.

§ 144. ὑπακούσατε is used here in the sense of the simple ἀκούειν. — ἐκωλύθητε, sc. in the earlier deliberations, when Æsch. and his clique had everything their own way. Later, the opposition of Dem. was more effective. Cf. the account of Æsch. infra. In regard to the charge of Æsch. that Dem. procured the passage of his decree by the artifice described in the citation, Grote remarks: "There is nothing to confirm such insinuations; moreover Æsch., if he had still retained the public sentiment in his favor, could easily have baffled the tricks of his rival." — καὶ...καὶ...καὶ: correlated. — δεινότης: *calliditas*, Schaef.: *craftiness*, Kenn.

§ 145. ἦν..εἰ...ποιήσῃ: what kind of a condit. sent.? Cf. G M T. 696; H. 937; G. 1502. 2; Cu. § 549. — Θεβαίων...Θετταλῶν: while the traditional hatred between the Thebans and Athenians continued unabated (cf. § 168), there had arisen on the other side an estrangement between the Thebans and Philip, of wh. the refusal of Thebes to participate in the measures against the Amphissians (cf. Æsch. § 128) was an expression. In this state of things, it was probable that Thebes would not only decline to join Philip in an expedition against Athens, but would even prevent his



army from passing through her territory; and it was doubtful whether under such circumstances the Thessalians would follow him. Cf. A. Schaeff., II. 505. — τῶν ληστῶν, *guerillas*; the reference is to private bands of marauders who by land and sea harassed the domain of Philip. — τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας: cf. note, § 44.

§ 146. μήτε...μήτε, st. οὔτε...οὔτε, because the partic. have a conditional force. — ὅποιουσδήποθ', of whatever sort they were; a point upon wh. he does not expatiate (ἐὼ γὰρ τοῦτό γε). — αὐτῇ τῇ φύσει, to suffer ill from the very nature of the locality and the circumstances of each party. The power of Philip lay in his land forces, that of Athens in her navy; the way to Athens was obstructed over land by the Thebans, over the sea by the Athenians.

§ 147. εἰ...συμπεῖθοι...ἂν ἠγάετο προσέξεν, if then he should try to persuade to join (συν) ... he thought that no one would be likely to pay attention to him. Notice the emphatic position of τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ' ἔχθρας. ἂν προσέξεν would regularly be ἂν προσέξει in the finite form. The fut. opt. w. ἂν is so rare that its existence is denied by some grammarians. For this reason some critics propose either to omit ἂν or to change the text to ἂν προσέχειν. But cf. G M T. 203, 208; Kühner's Gramm., § 260. 5 a; Baümlein de Modis, pp. 295-297, 351. Undoubted instances of the fut. opt. w. ἂν are found in Lycurg. in Leocr., § 15; Lys. de caede Erat., § 22; of the fut. infin. w. ἂν in Dem. Leptin., § 35; Thuc., II. 80. — ἐὰν...παρακρούσσεσθαι, but if in assuming the common pretexts of these he should be chosen leader, he hoped he would in part quite easily deceive them and in part persuade them. The second of these two conditions (sc. ἐὰν αἰρεθῆ) expresses the more probable or nearer alternative, the one wh. was later actually fulfilled. Just below Dem. makes the same discrimination: εἰ εἰσηγοῖτό τις and ἂν Ἀθηναῖος ᾗ. — τὰς...κοινὰς προφάσεις: the same wh. are called προφάσεις Ἀμφικτυονικὰς in § 158, and relating to the supposed violation of the rights of the Delphic god by the Amphissians and Athenians. — τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι: dat. commodi. — περὶ = in, denoting place and time. So περὶ τὸν Δεκελεικὸν πόλεμον, § 96. — Πυλαίαν: the Congress of the Amphictyons bore this name, as the delegates that of πυλάγοροι (§ 149), from the circumstance that it assembled twice each year, in autumn and in spring, in the temple of Demeter at Thermopylae. It was formerly supposed that the spring session was held at Delphi, but the recently discovered funeral oration of Hyperides (§ 16), acc. to Westermann, has confirmed the conjecture of those critics who believe that the delegates first assembled at Thermopylae to perform their ancient rites, and then adjourned to Delphi to transact other business. — εἰς ταῦθ', for these things, i. e. to settle these difficulties.

§ 148. ἱερομνημόνων: deriv.? The difference betw. the Hieromnemons

and Pylagoræ is not wholly clear ; but from the representation of Æsch., § 115, it appears that besides the general meetings in wh. both participated, there were sessions of a more special character attended alone by the Hieromnemons ; and that these alone were the actual official members of the Council and had the right to offer proposals and to pass decrees, while the Pylagoræ seem to have acted merely as councillors, who, whenever occasion demanded, were to plead for the particular interests of their respective states. — *ἐκείνου* : spoken from the standpoint of the speaker ; cf. §§ 218, 236. — *ὑπόψεσθαι* : the critical student will observe that this apodosis in oratio recta would differ fr. *ἂν προσέξειν* above. — *εὐπόρως λήσειν*, *it* (i. e. τὸ πρᾶγμα = *his scheme*) *would easily escape detection*.

§ 149. *φυλάττοντος* : Schaefer remarks that we might expect *φυλαττομένον* = *guarding against*, but the idea of *guarding against* anything involves that of *being watchful* lest it may happen ; hence the middle and active of this verb are frequently interchanged. — *προβληθείς, κ. τ. ἐ.*, *having been nominated and three or four having held up their hands for him, he was declared elected*. The result of a vote was immediately declared by the presiding officer. The method of procedure here described is not entirely unknown in modern political assemblies. — *ἐπέрайνεν, κ. τ. ἐ.*, *he accomplished the ends for which he had been hired*. Whether this charge of Dem. be true or not, it is certain that if Æsch. had been acting as the hireling of Philip, he could have done nothing so favorable to the ambition of Philip and so fatal to the freedom of Greece, as to stir up this new Amphictyonic war. — *ἔθεν*, *how and whence*, going back and tracing the history from its origin. — *ἡ Κιρραία χώρα* : the Cirrhæan territory is a fertile plain extending from the foot of Mt. Parnassus to the Corinthian Gulf. How it came to be set apart to the service of the Delphic sanctuary is familiar to all who know the history of the first Sacred War, B. C. 595. — *ἀπείρους λόγων*, *inexperienced in speech-making*, in contrast w. the Pylagoræ. “The Hieromnemons were chosen, in Athens at least, from the whole body of people, without distinction of person.” W.

§ 150. *περιελθεῖν*, i. e. *circuire ad fines determinandos*. Diss. — *σφῶν αὐτῶν οὖσαν*, *as belonging to themselves*. — *τῆς...χώρας* : pred. partit. genit. — *οὐδεμίαν δίκην...ἐπαγόντων*, *although the Locrians were bringing no suit against us, nor those charges which now this man pretends*. Dem. does not directly contradict the narrative of Æsch. ; his argument is this : no summons had been served by the Locrians on Athens, and without such summons no prosecution could legally be carried on ; hence there were still many steps to be taken before final judgment could be pronounced against Athens ; Æsch. ought, therefore, to have tempered his zeal w. a little good sense, to say nothing more. The account of Æsch. gives no explanation of

the most vital point in the whole affair, the appointment of Philip to conduct the war. Cf. Grote, XC.; A. Schaeff., II., p. 498 ff. — **τελέσασθαι**, *to bring to an issue* (τέλος). — **ἀπό ποίας ἀρχῆς**, *from what cause?* ἀρχή is used in the Homeric sense of αἰτία. V. cites in confirmation of this rendering a Schol. wh. explains ἀπαξ ἐκ τούτων in the next paragraph by ἀπό μᾶς ἀρχῆς = αἰτίας μᾶς. Some take ἀρχή to mean here magistracy, and read *under the auspices of what magistracy?* But W. remarks that this idea is implied in the preceding τίς...ἐκλήτευσεν. Inferior MSS. read ἐπὶ ποίας ἀρχῆς, wh. is made to mean: *in what archonship?* But this idea the Greek would express by ἐπὶ τίνος ἀρχοντος. — **ταύτη κατεχρῶ**, *you have made use of this as an empty and false pretext.* The omission of the art. makes ταύτη the subj. and προφάσει the predicate of the clause. Cf. H. 674; Kühner's Larger Gramm., § 246. 3, Rem. 1.

§ 151. **μικροῦ κατηκόντισαν**, *well-nigh shot them all down.* Cf. the account of Æsch., § 123. — **ἀπαξ ἐκ τούτων**, *once for all from these proceedings.* — **Κόττυφος**: Æsch., § 128, tells us all we know about him. — **οἱ μὲν**, sc. the Athenians and the Thebans, as we learn fr. the account of Æsch. — **εἰς** denotes the *terminus ad quem*. They had been expecting to do this all along, and were planning it *for* the next meeting. — **τὴν ἐπιούσαν Πυλαίαν**: the next regular meeting of the Amphictyonic council. Grote says that the first motion raised by Æsch. against the Amphissians occurred in the spring meeting (he says at *Delphi*, but see note on Πυλαίαν, § 147); next there was held the special meeting wh. elected Cottyrhus to the leadership; after this, in September, 339 B. C., came the regular autumnal meeting, wh. is referred to here. — **ἐπὶ τὸν Φ. ἡγεμόνα ἦγον**, lit. *they brought affairs* (sc. τὰ πράγματα) *to Philip as leader.* So in *Phil.*, III., § 57: οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἦγον τὰ πράγματα, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ Φίλιππον. — **οἱ κατεσκευασμένοι, κ. τ. ἐ.**, *those of the Thessalians and those* (lit. *of those*) *in the rest of the states who had been prepared* (i. e. bought) *and were veteran traitors.*

§ 152. **εἰσφέρειν**, *to contribute a special tax.* — **ζημιοῦν**, *to punish by fine.* — **ἤρεθῃ γὰρ**: γὰρ implies an ellipsis in the thought, somewhat like this: but what is the use of wasting many words upon this point; *for* you know the result, and that is enough. — **εὐθέως**: Philip at once set about collecting a force and preparing for his campaign in Hellas. But Dem. neglects to mention (probably w. the intention of making his narrative the more striking and effective) that Philip first marched against Amphissa, and, after destroying it and defeating the combined forces of the Locrians and Athenians, turned back unexpectedly towards Elatea. Cf. A. Schaeff., II., p. 513 ff. — **ἐρῶσθαι φράσας**, *having bidden a long adieu.* This sarcastic use of this phrase is quite common. Cf. *de F. L.*, § 248: ἐρῶσθαι φράσας τῷ σοφῷ Σοφοκλεῖ. — **Ἐλάτειαν**: the largest town of Phocis, situated not far fr. the

frontier of the Epicnemidian Locrians, and important as the key to the mountain passes that give approach to and from Thessaly. It had been destroyed, in common w. the other Phocian towns, at the close of the Sacred War, 346 B. C. Æsch., § 140, states that now Philip fortified it. — How much consternation this movement of Philip excited at Athens, we shall presently hear.

§ 153. ὡςπερ χειμάρρους: the student must have already noticed the sparing use Dem. makes of figures of speech. For Quintilian's criticism of his style and comparison of him w. Cicero, cf. *Institutes of Oratory*, IX., ch. I., § 40; X., ch. I., §§ 105–108; XII., ch. X., § 23. — τὸ γ' ἐξαίφνης, *for the moment at least* (though not ultimately). — καὶ...καὶ, *and...also*.

§ 156. ὑπήκουον, *refused to comply*, either to join him in attacking the Athenians, or permitting him free transit through their borders. — τοὺς... συμμάχους: the Arcadians, Eleans, Messenians, and Argives. — τὸ πρᾶτ-  
ταιν: expegetical of πρόφασιν. This use of πρόφασιν for the *true reason* is rare and scarcely recognized in the lexicons. It is often opposed to ἀληθές (πρόφασιν μὲν...τὸ ἀληθές δέ), and is used just below to denote the pretexts alleged by Philip and presented by Æsch. TYLER. Cf. § 225, where ψευδεῖς is added to distinguish fr. ἀληθεῖς, and Thuc. I. 23, 6. — δόξαντα, *measures resolved upon by the Amphictyons*. — ἀφορμὰς: deriv.? *Occasions, opportunities for acting*, w. the idea of secrecy or dishonesty.

§ 158. φεύγει...καταφεύγει: Diss. remarks that these verbs are used together by way of sarcasm. — περιμόντες: in allusion to the notorious habit of the Athenians of walking indolently about and hearing and discussing news and politics. Cf. κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν περιέρχομαι, § 323. — ὑφ' ἐνός, *sc. Philip*.

§ 159. ὃν...οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμι, κ. τ. ἐ., *whom, were one without reserve to speak the truth, I for my part should not hesitate to call the ruinous cause of all the losses that have followed*. — τόπων, *districts*; more general in meaning than πόλεων. Wh. understands it to mean *forts* = χωρία. — ὁ γὰρ... παρασχών, οὗτος, κ. τ. ἐ., *for he who furnishes the seed, he is responsible for the harvest of evils*. Cicero appears to have imitated this passage in *Philipp.*, II., c. 22: "ut igitur in seminibus est causa arborum et stirpium, sic hujus luctuosissimi belli semen tu fuisti." — ὃν: the relative is taken out of its clause and placed first to serve as a connective; cf. ἧς τῶν μὲν τετυχηκότων, § 128; furthermore, ὃν is the obj. of ἀπεστράφητε, the accus. retained after the passive without a prep. Cf. H. 724 a; G. 1239; Cu. § 398. Cf. Soph. *Ed. Col.*, 1272. Render: *from whom that you did not turn away in abhorrence as soon as ever you saw him, surprises me*. — πρό, *between you and the truth*; lit. *before the truth*, hiding it from you as by a veil.



III. §§ 160–247. THE PART DEMOSTHENES PLAYED IN DEFENDING HIS COUNTRY AGAINST THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE AMPHISSIAN WAR, BY BRINGING ABOUT THE ALLIANCE WITH THEBES. Συμβέβηκε: as something that is perfectly natural. — τὰ ἔργα... τοὺς λόγους, *the reality... the account*. So Thuc., I. 22: καὶ ὅσα μὲν λόγῳ εἶπον ἕκαστοι, τὰ δ' ἔργα τῶν πραχθέντων. — αὐτῶν: cf. note on τὰ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων δόγματα, § 140.

§ 161. ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ Φιλίππου φρονούντων, *under the influence of those favoring the interests of Philip*. So in § 177: φρονοῦσι τὰ ὑμέτερα = *favoring your interests*. — ἑκατέροις... ἀμφοτέροις: the former denotes each of the two (Thebes and Athens) in their *separate* interests; the latter the two together in their *joint* interests. — δὲ μὲν... δεόμενον: the relative sentence preceding its antecedent τὸ... εἰάν awakens expectation on the part of the hearer. — τὸ προσκρούειν, *and for collision with one another*. A strong word; lit. *to dash or strike against*. In §§ 19, 163 the orator uses the compound συγκρούειν = *to strike together*; in § 198, ἀντικρούειν = *to strike back*, hence *to turn out badly*. — τοῦτο sums up the whole thought; often so used.

§ 162. Ἀριστοφῶντα... Ἐββουλον: cf. § 70. — πράξει ταύτην τὴν φιλίαν, *to effect this alliance*. — βουλομένους... ὁμογνωμονούντας are supplementary after εἰδώς, while ἀντιλέγοντας is concessive: *although often contradicting each other* (sc. ἐαυτοῖς) *in regard to other matters, upon this were always agreed*. — οὗς... παρηκολούθεις: Æsch. is said to have been secretary to them. The partic. κολακεύων and κατηγορῶν contain the important idea. — κίναδος: this word has been rendered *base wretch, vile animal, scandal to humanity, crafty creature, monster, sly fox, reptile*. I prefer the last as most in harmony w. the idea of a sneaking, false character that fawns upon those whom it is ready to betray. — δοκιμασάντων, *sanctioned*.

§ 163. ἐκεῖσε, i. e. to his statement interrupted in § 153. — ὅτι to be joined w. συνέβη. — συμπεραναμένων, κ. τ. ἐ., *and because the rest of his coudjutors had joined (συν) in developing our hostility with Thebes*. The genit. absol. expresses cause or reason here. — οὗπερ, *for which very purpose*; περ indicates the closeness or exactness of the relation. — προεξανέστημεν... ἀναλαβεῖν, *and had we not aroused ourselves a little beforehand* (i. e. before Philip's plans were matured), *we should not have been able to gain them over to our side*. ἀναλαβεῖν is generally taken in the sense of *to recover or retrieve*. But what is it fr. wh. they could not have retrieved themselves? Some say, *from their enmity*; but this makes poor sense. Others say, *they could not have recovered their position*; but this seems too vague. Dem. wishes to say this: our only hope of successfully resisting Philip lay in a union w. the Thebans; but this hope would be utterly destroyed, if feelings

of hostility were allowed to exist much longer. For this sense of ἀναλαβεῖν cf. Dimarch *c. Dem.*, § 28; Aristoph. *Equit.*, 682. — τὴν ἐχθραν: so reads Σ; inferior MSS. have τὸ πρᾶγμα. Our reading appears to favor the interpretation of ἀναλαβεῖν just given.

§ 168. διὰ τούτων, i. e. Æsch. and his accomplices. — ἐπαρθεῖς... ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν, led on by these decrees and by the responses. Wh. wonders how Philip could have been encouraged to make his attack on Elatea by these ἀποκρίσεις inserted in the text, wh. profess to be written by himself. We suspect that Westermann is right in conjecturing that Dem. alludes to the correspondence then going on between Athens and Thebes, wh. was probably not altogether in a spirit of friendly reconciliation, and of wh. Philip was doubtless well informed. — ὡς οὐδ' ἂν, κ. τ. ἐ., as though, come what might, we and the Thebans would never again co-operate. — συμπνευσάντων ἂν = συμπνεύσαιτο ἂν, cf. G M T. 215; H. 987; G. 1308. 2; Cu. § 595. For the repetition of ἂν cf. G M T. 223, 224; G. 1312; K. § 261. 3; Madv. G. S. § 139 b. What gramm. objection is there to the form συμπνευσόντων wh. is found in the best MSS.?

§ 169. γὰρ introduces the narration, as we use *now* in Engl. No passage in the oration has been more lauded, and more deservedly so, than this graphic and beautiful description. Cf. Longinus. It is interesting to read and compare the account of this event given by Diodorus, XVI. 84. — Ἑσπέρα: the order of the sentence emphasizes the fact that this announcement was made in the evening. — πρυτάνεις: the intelligence would naturally first come to them from their official position. — ὡς: cf. H. 930, 1054d; G. 1476; Cu. §§ 632 d, 526 b. — μεταξύ δειπνοῦντες: the prytanes took their meals in the θάλος, a building adjoining the Senate room, at the expense of the state. The principal meal (δειπνον) w. the Greeks was at evening. — τοὺς τ' ἐκ τῶν σκηνῶν: cf. note on § 44. — ἐξείργον, drove the hucksters out of their booths, for the purpose of clearing the Agora preparatory to convening the Assembly. Cf. Aristoph. *Acharn.*, 21 ff. The descriptive character of the narration is strengthened by the use of the impf. in this and the following verbs. — τὰ γέρα ἐνεπίμπρασαν, set on fire their sheds. τὰ γέρα, originally used of wicker-work, later came to signify any kind of covering or roofing. As to the object of this proceeding commentators vacillate between two opinions: (1) in order to clear the space of the Agora with all possible despatch; (2) to serve as a signal of alarm wh. was to summon the people fr. the rural districts into the city. Objection is made to (1) that this act was unnecessary, since there were numerous slaves who could remove these sheds in ample season before the next morning; to (2) that the situation of the Agora was not a suitable one for giving signals. Still, on the whole, (2) seems the more probable theory: first, because no

other step seems to have been taken to call the rural population into the city; second, because there was after all no empty square so large and suitable as the Agora for giving such a signal. — **τοὺς στρατηγούς**: these had to summon the extraordinary session of the Assembly. Cf. *ψήφισμα*, § 37; Meier and Schöm. *Att. Proc.*, p. 107. — **ἄμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ**, *at daybreak*. But there was nothing unusual in this, as we learn fr. Aristoph. *Acharn.*, 20; *Eccles.*, 312, 377. — **χρηματίσαι καὶ προβουλεύσαι** is the usual form of expression to denote (*χρηματίσαι*) the *discussion* and *deliberation* of any proposal and (*προβουλεύσαι*) the *adoption* of a resolution or bill to be brought before the *ἐκκλησία*. — **ἄνω καθήτο**: the Assembly was held at that time in the Pnyx, wh. was located on a hill overlooking the Agora. Hence *ἀναβαίνειν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*, Dem. c. *Aristocr.*, I., §§ 9, 20.

§ 170. **ὡς**: temporal. — **ἦλθεν**, *sc. εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*. — **ἀπήγγειλαν**: probably through the *ἐπιστάτης* as chairman. — **τὸν ἦκοντα παρήγαγον**, *and they had introduced the messenger*. — **ἠρώτα**, *kept asking*. — **τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται** is the ordinary formula for opening the business of the meeting. Cf. Aristoph. *Acharn.*, 45. — **παρήει**, i. e. *ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα*. — **ρήτόρων**: the Greek rhetors were at this time a class of professional politicians and public speakers. The orator emphasizes the point that all those men were present in this Assembly who were wont to be foremost in giving counsel. — **καλούσης δὲ τῆς κοινῆς, κ. τ. ἐ.**, *and although the common voice of the fatherland was summoning some one to speak in behalf of her welfare*. Many Editt. read *καλούσης δὲ τῆς πατρίδος τῇ κοινῇ φωνῇ*, wh. has excellent MS. authority. For the omission of the article w. *πατρίδος*, cf. § 242.

§ 171. **τὸ βῆμα**: the bema was the tribune fr. wh. the Athenian orators addressed the people. As seen to-day among the ruins of Athens, it is a solid cube of stone, some 10 feet in height, having a surface once square and smooth, but now somewhat irregular; it is surrounded at the bottom on three sides by stone steps or seats. — **οἷδ' ὅτι**: parenthetic and without any influence on the construction; so frequently. Cf. § 293; *Phil.*, II., § 29; Soph. *Antig.*, 276. — **οἱ τριακόσιοι**: cf. note on the trierarchal system, § 102. — **τοὺς ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα**, *sc. ὄντας*, *and if those who were both* (*sc. παρελθεῖν εἶδει*). *ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα* is a *prelie. accus.*, and simply anticipates the *καί...καί* following. — **μετὰ ταῦτα**, i. e. after Chæronea, when the citizens made the greatest personal sacrifices to repair their walls and put their city in a better state of defence against Philip. Cf. §§ 248, 312.

§ 172. **ἐκεῖνος... ἐκεῖνη**: very emphatic; *that (memorable) occasion*. — **παρηκολουθηκότα**, *who had closely followed up*. — **οὐδέν... ἤμελλεν**, *be any the more likely*; i. e. for all his wealth and patriotism.

§ 173. **ἐφάνην... ἐγώ**, *I then appeared to be this one* (i. e. *ὃν ὁ καιρὸς ἐκάλει*)

upon that day. The unusual order of the sentence makes ἐγώ very emphatic. What is to be grammatically supplied in the predicate after ἐφάνην? — τὴν...τάξιν, *I did not desert the post of patriotism in the hour of danger.* Cf. § 138: τὴν ἐλόμενον τάξιν; Dem. *Olynth.*, III. § 36: παραχωρεῖν τῆς τάξεως. — πολιτείας, *you will be much more familiar with the entire conduct of affairs for the future; i. e. more familiar w. the principles of my policy as applied to the events that remain to be considered, than you otherwise would be.* Some scholars prefer to make τὰ λοιπὰ limit πολιτείας; w. this constr. the sense is not materially altered. With this life-like and masterly description the student may profitably compare Webster's graphic account, in the trial of the Knapps, of the murder of their victim.

§ 174. ὅτι: merely to introduce the citation, and not to be translated. What now follows is all we know of the masterly speech Dem. delivered on this occasion. This brief summary is itself an eloquent testimony to the wisdom and magnanimity of the Athenian statesman. First, Dem. shows the advantage and necessity of an alliance w. Thebes; next, what measures are to be taken to secure this alliance. — ὡς ὑπαρχόντων Θ...Φ., *as though the Thebans were in favor of Philip.* ὑπάρχειν τινί = *to be in support (ὑπό) or in favor of any one*, a meaning not given by L. and Sc. Cf. Dem. *de F. L.*, § 54: τὸ τὸν Φίλιππον ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς πεισθῆναι; § 118: ὑπάρξων ἐκείνω. — ἠκούομεν...ὄντα: how different fr. ἠκούομεν εἶναι? αὐτὸν ὄντα, accus. w. ἀκούω as the *thing* heard. — ἔν' ἔτοιμα, κ. τ. ἐ.: a general expression for *that he may bring the Thebans over to his side.*

§ 175. ἅπαντας εὐτρέπισται, *all (those embraced in the category of ἡ...ῆ) he has made friendly to himself.* The orator's point is that Ph. has already exhausted his opportunities in Thebes. — δείξας, *by showing a military force in the vicinity.* — ἐπάραι, ποιῆσαι, καταπλήξαι: these infinitives depend on βούλεται, the force of wh. continues. — ἔν' ἡ συγχωρήσωσι: expresses the ultimate purpose or aim of what precedes. *In order that they may either yield through fear what now they are not willing (to yield), or may be compelled by force.*

§ 176. εἴ τι δύσκολον = ὅσα δύσκολα, *whatever is offensive; as e. g. what is referred to in § 96.* — εἶτα, *in the next place; without the δέ as correl. of μέν.* Cf. *ἔπειτα*, § 1. In the next paragraph we find the same omission of δέ. — μῆ...ἔλθωσιν: for the negat. and use of mode cf. G M T. 365; H. 887; G. 1378; Cu. § 533. — αὐτῷ, *those now opposed to him having received him.* Reiske conjectured αὐτόν as obj. of προσδεξαμένων st. αὐτῷ, on the ground that the pronoun seems more essential in connection w. this than w. the other partic.; but in § 162 we have οὗς as obj. of κολακεύων st. οὗς w. παρηκολούθεις. — φιλιππισάντων: a word coined probably by Dem. So Herod. and Thuc. used the verb Μηδίξεν in the account of the relations



of Persia and Greece. — ἀμφότεροι, i. e. Philip and the Thebans. — πρὸς τῷ σκοπεῖν... γένησθε, and ye may be inclined to deliberate, instead of to dispute concerning what I may say. — δόξειν: Rauchenstein conjectures ἔξω = shall be able (cf. § 172), instead of δόξειν, as the orator would not say shall seem to speak; but by supplying ὑμῖν this objection vanishes. — ἐφεσθηκότα κίνδυνον τῇ πόλει: the same order of partic. and subst. is found in §§ 190, 197, 220; a different order in §§ 179, 188. Which is the more regular?

§ 177. τί οὖν φημι δεῖν: Diss. notes how skilfully the orator excites attention in beginning the second part of this speech w. this inquiry. — μεταθέσθαι: used absolutely, = to turn about. — τῶν δεινῶν: gen. w. ἐγγυτέρω. — προτέροις: as a predicate; the peril is theirs first. — Ἐλευσινιάδε: this route would be over the "Sacred Way" to Eleusis (about 12 miles fr. Athens), thence to Thebes in a northwesterly direction across Mt. Cithæron. A more direct way to Thebes led through Acharnæ and Phyle; but this was not so practicable for a large army, nor did it offer any large plain, such as the Eleusinian, for the massing of a large force, in case of an attack. — τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, those who have the requisite age for military service. This designation applies only to the heavy-armed troops; the cavalry, being a branch of service of later origin, is named separately. The military age was from 18 to 60. — ἐξ ἴσου, sc. as to the partisans of Philip. — τὸ παρρησιάζεσθαι, the boldness to speak freely. — οὕτω... ὑπάρχεθ', so to those who wish... you stand ready to render assistance.

§ 178. κυρίως, and to give them, together with the generals, absolute control both of the time to be fixed upon for going thither (i. e. to Thebes) and of the expedition. — τούτῳ... τὸν νοῦν, to this give most careful attention, I pray you. μοι is an ethical dative; cf. H. 770; G. 1171; Cu. § 433. — αἰσχροῦς: it would be dishonorable to take such advantage of their helplessness. — ἐν τοῖς ἰσχύοις: some MSS. add κινδύοις; but we can say: in extremities. — ἡμῶν... προορωμένων: on the principle that those who are somewhat removed fr. danger are calmer and clearer in their judgment than those who are in the midst of it. — καὶ... καὶ, both... and; embracing the apodosis. — προσχήματος: the pretext was to give aid to the oppressed Thebans. — ἐὰν δ'... ἄν: the latter condit. clause is special and subordinate to the former, wh. is more general. Cf. εἰ μὲν... εἰ and εἰ δὲ... εἰ in § 217. — ἡμῖν: dat. agent. The words that Dem. here puts, so to say, into the mouth of the envoys, are lauded by Dionysius in his *Art. Rhetor.*, IX., § 9, for their appropriate (εὐπρέπειαν) character.

§ 179. οὐκ εἶπον... οὐκ ἔγραψα, κ. τ. ἔ.: the antithetic force of μὲν... δέ and the peculiar use of the negat. οὐκ and οὐδέ, make an exact translation of this much-praised example of climax (cf. Quint. *Inst. Orat.*, IX., Chap. III., § 55) quite impossible. An approximation to the original may be made thus:

*I did not say these things and fail to propose them; I did not propose them and fail to go on an embassy, etc.* Lord B. suggests these renderings: (1) by a double negation, thus: *I did not say these things and not propose;* (2) by the use of *without* in the second clause; (3) *not only did I say these things, but I propounded a decree, etc.* — **διεξήλθον**, *I carried the affair through* (διά). — **φέρε**: the orator improves the pause, while the clerk is preparing to read the document, by making personal remarks more or less closely connected w. the point under consideration. So in §§ 212, 219.

§ 180. **θῶ**, *represent, make out to be*. What use of subjunct.? Cf. G M T. 287; H. 866. 3; G. 1358; Cu. § 511. — **Βάπταλον**: the origin and meaning of this nickname are in doubt. Dem. claims that it was a pet name given him by his nurse; but Æsch. c. *Timarch.*, § 126, ridicules this claim, and says in *de F. L.*, § 99: *ἐν παισι μὲν γὰρ ὧν ἐκλήθη δι' αἰσχρουργίαν τινὰ καὶ κιναιδίαν Βάταλος*. The Schol. renders it by *profligate, effeminate*, and derives it variously: (1) from the name of a flute-player or poet, notorious for his effeminacy; (2) from the sickly and weak condition of Dem. body; (3) as a term of contempt borrowed from an instrument used by flute-players for beating time, and called *ὑποπόδιον* or *βάταλος*. Recent scholars connect it w. *βάττος, βατταρίζω*, and make it mean *stammerer, stutterer*, in allusion to the orator's supposed defect in utterance. — **Κρεσφόντην...Κρέοντα...Οινόμαον**: these were parts that fell to the *τριταγωνιστής*. Cf. § 129. The first-named character was the third rôle in a play of Euripides of the same name; the second is the well-known tyrant in the *Antigone* of Sophocles; the third was a subordinate character in a play of Sophocles bearing this name. — **ἐν Κολλυτῷ**, *whom once in Collytus you wretchedly murdered*. Collytus was one of the country demes in wh. the rural Dionysia were celebrated. In the anonymous biography of Æsch., the story is told that Æsch., in the rôle of Ænomaus, on a certain occasion tripped and fell on the stage while pursuing Pelops. — **τότε**: very emphatic. — **ὁ Παιανιεύς ἐγῶ**: in the skilful arrangement of the words each contrasted term occupies relatively a reversed position, except that *σοῦ* comes last for the sake of emphasis.

§ 188. **Αὔτη...πρώτη**, *This was the beginning and first step towards a settlement of our difficulties with Thebes.* *κατάστασις* = *constitutio rerum antea turbatarum*. Diss. — **τὰ πρὸ τούτων**, *as regards previous affairs*. — **ὑπὸ τούτων**, i. e. Æsch. and his coadjutors. — **ᾧσπερ νέφος**: Larned sums up the merits of this sentence thus: (1) The figure is unexpected; the sentence would be complete if it closed w. *ἐποίησεν*. (2) It is perfectly natural; it expresses the thought more truthfully than any literal language. (3) The whole sentence is worded as simply and concisely as possible.

(4) The ancient critics noticed a perfect rhythm in the sentence ; to the ear of Longinus the effect would have been much marred, he informs us, by the substitution of *ὡς* or *ὡσπερὶ* for *ὡσπερ*. — *νῦν ἐπιτιμᾶν* : as opposed to *τότε δεῖξαι*. Why the change in the tense of the infin.?

§ 189. *ὁ γὰρ σύμβουλος, κ. τ. ἐ.*, for the statesman and the demagogue. In his speech against *Midias*, § 189, the orator states the distinction between the *σύμβουλος* and the *ρήτωρ*. The *συκοφάντης* (cf. note § 112) is further characterized in § 242. — *τοῖς πεισθείσι*, to his followers, i. e. those who have accepted his policy and accordingly hold him responsible. — *τῷ καιρῷ*, opportunity, i. e. the seasonable time or opportune moment for any action. — *τῷ βουλομένῳ* refers to any one who may choose to call a political leader to an account for the results of his policy. — *σιγήσας ἴδει* : in this general definition we should expect *σιγῶν...δεῖ* ; the past tense is used specially w. an eye to *Æsch.*

§ 190. *ὅπερ εἶπον*, sc. in § 188 : *ἦν μὲν...ἐπιτιμᾶν*. — *ἐκείνος*, in the predicate and in sharp contrast w. *νῦν* below ; that was the occasion, therefore. — *ἐγὼ...ποιῶμαι*, but I go so far as to say. — *ὥστε...ὁμολογῶ*, that I confess myself guilty. What would be the difference in the thought if the orator had said *ὥστε ὁμολογεῖν* ? Cf. G M T. 582-584 ; H. 927, 953 ; G. 1449-1451 ; Cu. § 565, Obs. 1. — *ἔωρακεν* = now knows of ; the perfect often represents the state or condition resulting fr. the action of the verb. — *πραχθέν* : what use of the partic. ? Give the Greek clause to correspond to *συνήνεγκεν ἄν*. Cf. a similar constr., § 30. — *εἰ δὲ μῆτ' ἔστι, κ. τ. ἐ.* : cf. § 141 and note. — *καὶ τήμερον*, yea, even to-day. — *τῶν φαινομένων καὶ ἐνότων* : expressed above by *δείξαι τι...τι...ἐνήν*.

§ 191. *αἰτιάσθαι, κ. τ. ἐ.*, this sarcastic inquiry is explained by *βασκαίνει*, § 189. — *τίς ἐγγυᾶσθαι, κ. τ. ἐ.*, who is willing to guarantee the future ? — *τότε*, sc. *ἔδειξας*. — *ἀλλὰ*, yet, introducing the apodosis. — *εὔπορεῖν*, with which I ought to have furnished myself. The comm. reading is *εὔρεῖν*. — *τῇ πόλει* : join w. *συμφέρων*. Some call it dat. incommod. w. the verb. — *πράξις*, enterprise, "practical measure," "plan." — *μᾶλλον*, i. e. than those to wh. he did lead them.

§ 192. *τάξιν*, the office. In the present and in the future the statesman is required to be at his post discharging his duty. — *τότε* : when the negotiations w. Thebes were in progress. — *προαίρεσίν*, the aim ; that wh. one sets before himself as his chosen object. — *μὴ...συκοφάντει*, do not rail at the results. — *ὡς ἂν...βουληθῆ* : whatever it may be, as the use of *ἂν* w. subjunctive indicates. — *αὐτῇ*, as viewed by itself. — *διάνοιαν*, the intention ; subjective, while *προαίρεσις* is objective.

§ 193. *τῇ μάχῃ*, i. e. Chæroneæ. Dat. of respect ; the more usual reading is *τῆν μάχην*. — *οὐκ ἐμοί* : it is not essential that *ἐν* be repeated, as is

done in the reading of many Editt. — *ἄσα . . λογισμών*, as many things as are possible in human calculation. — *καὶ δικαίως, κ. τ. ἐ.* : the force of the preceding negative is retained here. — *φιλοπόνως ὑπὲρ δύναμιν*, laboriously beyond my power. We speak of superhuman effort. — *τότ' ἤδη* : *tum demum* ; but not before.

§ 194. *σκηπτὸς*, but if the tornado that ensued. Dem. compared what happens to a torrent (*χειμάρρους*) in § 153, and in § 214 to a deluge (*κατακλυσμὸν*). — *μείζων γέγονε*, has proved too strong for. — *τί χρῆ ποιεῖν* : the answer to the inquiry is omitted as being self-evident. Schaeff. states it thus : to keep still and not to accuse ; perhaps it is better put in the form of a question : to find fault ? Then follows the ellipsis : that would be unreasonable ; just as it would be, if, etc., ὡσπερ ἂν (*εἴη*). Cf. § 243. — *εἰ . . ναύκληρον* : originally the captain was at the same time the owner of the ship ; hence *ναύκληρος* may mean either. But *οὐτ' ἐκυβέρνων* points to the owner who might be held liable for the loss of the cargo, in case the ship was not well equipped. — *ἀφ' ὧν* : most MSS. have *πᾶσι* before *κατασκευάσαντα*, as the antecedent of *ὧν*. — *χρησάμενον*, encountering ; in agreement w. *πλοῖον*. Those who take *ναύκληρον* as referring to the captain place this partic. in agreement w. it. — *πονησάντων*, and its tackling laboring. Professor Tyler calls attention to the nautical sense of the words in this passage ; thus : *σωτηρία* = for a safe voyage ; *κατασκευάσαντα* = having fitted out ; *πονησάντων* and *σκευῶν* as above rendered. — *ὡσπερ . . ἐγώ* : thrown in by way of parenthesis, to indicate the application to himself. The appositeness of this comparison may be remarked in every particular.

§ 195. *εἰμαρτο* sums up what he has been saying about *τύχη*, *ὁ δαίμων*, and *ὁ θεός*. — *μηδέ*, not even. “A different policy would have left us without even that advantage.” HOLMES. — *ἐκείνος*, i. e. Philip. *He used every effort of persuasion*. — *τριῶν ἡμερῶν*, a journey (*ὁδὸν* accus. of extent) of three days. The distance fr. Athens to Chæronea is 62 Engl. miles. In § 230 Dem. says : *ἐπτακῶσια στάδια ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως*. Athens was about 200 stadia distant fr. the Bæotian frontier. From 150 to 200 stadia was reckoned as an ordinary day's march. — *τί ἂν . . χρῆν*, what COULD we have looked for ? implying that the fear and panic were already so great that the case could hardly be worse. *τί χρῆν προσδοκᾶν* above = what should we have looked for, assuming for the moment that things had been different. — *που τῆς χώρας* : somewhere in our territory. — *νῦν*, i. e. under existing circumstances, as it actually was ; opposed to *τότε* below, wh. means in the other case, i. e. supposing my advice had not been followed. — *στήναι, κ. τ. ἐ.*, to stand firm, to concentrate, to draw breath. The asyndeton gives us the notion of the rapidity of the thought and action at the crisis. — *μία ἡμέρα* : this brief respite after the battle of Chæronea, the orator means to



say, was of the utmost importance, and would not have occurred but for the Theban alliance. — **τότε δ'**: another instance of *aposiopesis*. Here it indicates horror; but in § 3, anxiety; and in § 22, anger. Cf. note § 3. — **ἄ...πείραν ἔδωκε**, sc. *αὐτῶν*; lit. *which did not give a trial of themselves*, i. e. *enter into our experience*. Cf. § 107; Dem. c. *Timocr.*, § 24: *καὶ πείραν αὐτῶν πολλάκις δεδώκασι*. — **τῷ προβάλλεσθαι**, *and through the city's throwing before itself* (as a shield). The reading *εὐνοια...τὸ* is found in Σ and is adopted by Bekk.

§ 196. **μοι**, dat. int.; *all this long story of mine is directed to you*. — **δικασταί**: before this Dem. has used *ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι*, but here he wishes to draw the distinction more closely between the jurors and the spectators. — **ἔξωθεν**, *outside the bar*; the court was enclosed by a wooden railing (*δρύφακτον*). Æsch., § 56, states that he does not remember ever before seeing so large a multitude present at a public trial. Cic. (*de opt. gen. orat.*, VII. 22) says: *ad quod iudicium concursus dicitur e tota Græcia factus esse*. — **ἔξήρκει**, *would suffice*; *ἂν* omitted, as often w. the impf. in such expressions as *ἀνάγκη, χαλπὸν, εἰκὸς ἦν, ἔδει, χρῆν, κ. τ. ἔ.* Cf. G M T. 415, 416; H. 897; G. 1400. Cf. *θαυμαστὸν ἦν*, § 248. — **τοῖς ἄλλοις**: dat. assoc. or likeness w. *τῆς αὐτῆς*. — **ταῦτα**, i. e. of this ignorance and its results. This is one of the most complete dilemmas in the oration; but is there no escape fr. it?

§ 197. (**οὐ γὰρ ἂν...ἔχρῶντο**,) *for (if you had) they would not have adopted these* (i. e. my measures). Thus indirectly the orator compliments the sagacity of his countrymen, as well as his own. — **ἂν**, sc. *ποιήσεις*, wh. is readily understood fr. the connection, but inserted by inferior MSS. Cf. *ὡς ἂν* (sc. *ἐχθοί*), § 291. — **τῇ πόλει**: dat. dependent on *δυσμενέστατος*. — **ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβᾶσιν**, *on the occurrence of the events*. *ἐπὶ* expresses the occasion or opportunity upon wh. one bases his conduct. Cf. §§ 240, 284. — **καὶ ἅμα**: it is this remarkable coincidence that is referred to by *διπερ... τοῦτο πεποιηκῶς* above. — **Ἀρίστρατος**: a different person fr. the tyrant of Sicyon named in § 48. We know nothing further of these partisans of Philip than what is here stated. — **καθάπαξ**, *thorough-going, out-and-out*.

§ 198. **Ἑλλήνων...ἀπέκειτο**: this sentence is hexametric in its rhythm. So § 143: *τὸν γὰρ ἐν...Ἐλάτειαν*; and *τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα, κ. τ. ἔ.*, § 188, acc. to Longinus, is dactylic. The ancient critics were fond of pointing out such instances; but such rhythmical structure is, we believe, more general and accidental than special and intentional. — **ἐνευδοκιμῆν ἀπέκειτο**, *and surely the man for whom the misfortunes of the Greeks are laid up as a store on which to found his personal renown*. *ἐνευδοκιμῆν* = *εὐδοκιμῆν ἐν αὐτοῖς*. — **καὶ** = *as*; often so used in the second clause of a comparison; cf. H. 1042 a; Cu. § 624. 3; C. 705 c. — **δηλοῖς**, *you make this manifest*; sc. *οὐκ ἐνι, κ. τ. ἔ.* — **καὶ πολιτεύῃ καὶ, κ. τ. ἔ.**, *and from*

*your political action and again from your political inaction.* Kenn. — **πράττεται, κ. τ. έ.**: this form of sentence is technically called *ἀντιστροφή* by the ancient rhetoricians. Other examples in this oration are found in §§ 117, 274. As an illustration from Roman oratory Diss. quotes Cic. *Phil.*, II. 22: *Doletis tres exercitus populi Romani interfectos; interfecit Antonius. Desideratis clarissimos cives; eos quoque nobis eripuit Antonius. Auctoritas hujus ordinis afflicta est; afflixit Antonius.* — **ἀντέκρουσέ**: cf. note § 161. — **ρήγματα**: in medical terminology *ρήγματα* is used of *bruises* of the fleshy parts and *ruptures* of blood-vessels, and *σπασματα* of the *sprains* of muscles. — **κινείται**, *are disturbed*; i. e. the old injury or weakness makes itself felt again whenever the body becomes diseased. The same simile is used by the orator in *Olynth.*, II., § 21: *ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν...ἐπὶ ἀν ἀρρώστημά τι συμβῆ, πάντα κινείται, κἀν ῥήγμα κἀν στρέμμα κἀν ἄλλο τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σαθρὸν ἦ.*

§ 199. **πολύς...ἐγκείται**, *he lays great stress upon.* The predicate adj. *πολύς* used st. an adv.; cf. *πολλῶ ῥέοντι*, § 136. Cf. H. 619; G. 926; Cu. § 361. 8. — **εἰ...ἦν**: he assumes, for the moment, that it is so. — **τούτων ἦν**, *ought the city to have abandoned these things*; referring to the measures wh. he at that time advised the city to adopt.

§ 200. **νῦν...τότε**: cf. note § 195. — **δοκεῖ**, sc. *ἡ πόλις*. — **προεστάναι**: alludes to the famous *ἡγεμονία* of the Athenian state. — **ἀποστάσα**: cf. *πραχθέν*, § 190; *παρόντων ἡμῶν*, § 30 and note. — **πάντας**, sc. *τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις*. — **οὐδένα...οὐχ ὑπέμειναν**, *for whose sake there is no danger which our ancestors did not undergo.* For the use of the negat. cf. H. 1031; G. 1618; Cu. § 619, Obs. — **σοῦ**: we naturally expect *τῆς πόλεως* here, but the orator suddenly turns the thought upon *Æsch.*, as if *he* alone were capable of such meanness. — **τῆς πόλεως...ἐμοῦ**: in the same constr. as *σοῦ*; we supply *εἶπω* after *μὴ*: *for let me not say "the city"* (*γε* makes *πόλεως* emphatic), *nor yet "me."*

§ 201. **εἰ τὰ μὲν πράγματ'...ἤρημένης**: this entire sentence forms the protasis to *τίσι...ἀφικνουμένους*, and consists itself of two contrasted parts, sc.: *εἰ τὰ μὲν πρ...ἀπάντων*, and *τὸν δ'...πεποιημένοι*; but as the first part is subdivided into two parts, sc.: *εἰ τὰ μὲν...περίεστη, ἡγεμῶν δέ*, we observe that *μὲν* corresponding to *δέ* in *τὸν δ'...πεποιημένοι* is omitted, the full expression being *εἰ μὲν τὰ μὲν* to correspond to *ἡγεμῶν δέ...τὸν δ'*. With such contrast of principal and subordinate parts *μὲν* is expressed both times in §§ 104, 214. — **τὰ πράγματ'...περίεστη**, *if affairs had turned out as they now have.*

§ 202. **ἔτι τούτων πρότερον**: the Spartan supremacy was lost w. the battle of Leuctra, 371 B. C., when the Theban began. — **τοῦ...βασιλέως**: that Xerxes actually requested Mardonius to make the Athenians such an

offer is stated by Herod., VIII. 140, and alluded to by Dem. *Phil.*, II., § 11. — **τούτ'**, i. e. ὁ τι...προεστάναι. — ὁ τι...λαβούση...ἐχούση...ποιεῖν...**ἔαν**: a metathesis of construction for λαβεῖν...ἔχειν...ποιούση...έώση. Thus Dem. ironically represents the act of *obeying in a state of subjection* and of *giving up the supremacy as a privilege*. λαβούση of single acquisition, ἐχούση of permanent possession.

§ 203. ὡς ἔοικε: ironical; so also in § 212. — **πάτρια**: “πάτριος = that wh. is peculiar to ancestors; as ἔθνη, νόμοι.” Krüg. W. paraphrases these adjectives thus: “This they had not inherited fr. their fathers, nor was it consistent w. their ideas of honor (ἀνεκτὰ = to be tolerated by their moral sense), nor was it congenial to their nature.” — **ἐκ... χρόνου**: cf. note § 26. — **προσθεμένην**, by attaching herself to; the partic. denotes means. — **ἀγωνιζομένη**, while struggling: the partic. denotes time. — **κινδυνεύουσα**: supplementary partic.: cf. G M T. 879; H. 981; G. 1580; Cu. § 590.

§ 204. ἡθεσιν: “character, as the result of manner and habits. ἡθος = a prolonged and strengthened ἔθος. Cf. Aristot. *Eth.*, II. 1.” TYLER. — **ἀποφηνάμενον**, who declared himself in favor of. — **Κυρσῖλον**: the connection shows that Dem. has the time just prior to the battle of Salamis in mind. Cic. *de Offic.*, III. 11, speaks thus: “Cyrsilum quendam suadentem, ut in urbe manerent Xerxemque reciperent, lapidibus obruerunt.” Herod., IX. 5, gives the same account, but of a man named Lycidas, and places the event just before the battle of Plataea. That there were two victims to the popular excitement of those stirring times, both meeting with a similar death, is not impossible.

§ 205. **ρήτορα** = here σύμβουλον, statesman. — **δουλεύουσιν**, they might enjoy slavery; spoken w. a peculiar bitterness and irony of tone. The common reading inserts εὐτυχῶς after it. The use of the fut. indic. after an historical tense adds to the vividness of the expression; so also in ἐξέσται. Wh. remarks that by the use of the indic. here Dem. identifies the Athenians of the two different ages, and represents the liberty and independence of one epoch as the unbroken continuity of the freedom asserted in another. — **τῆς εἰμαρμένης, κ. τ. ἐ.**, his destined end in the course of nature. Lord B. Death is represented (1) as fixed by destiny (τῆς μοίρας), in distinction fr. death brought upon one by his voluntary act; (2) as that wh. comes in the course of nature (as by disease), in distinction fr. death caused by external violence (as in battle). — **ὁ δὲ καὶ**, sc. νομίζων γεγενῆσθαι. The καὶ = also, i. e. as well as to his parents. — **ἐπιθεῖν** = to live to see (any evil). Cf. Æsch. *Agam.*, 1246. — **ἑθελήσει**, will volunteer. The fut. (st. the pres., as in περιμένει) denotes that he will do this whenever the demand comes. In illustration of this change of tense cf. Soph. *Antig.*, 349, 350. — **τοῦ θανάτου**: by its emphatic position = than death itself. Wh.

§ 206. εἰ μὲν...νῦν δ' ἐγὼ μὲν...οὗτος δέ: observe the double contrast between (1) what he was *not* doing and what he *was* doing; (2) between what *he* was doing and *Æsch.* was doing. — εἰ ἐπεχείρουν...ἂν ἐπιτιμήσειέ: a mixed condit. sentence: *if I were undertaking* (as I am not), *every one would censure me with good reason* (were he to do what is reasonable). Cf. G M T. 504. — ὑμετέρας, *are yours*; predicative, and placed first for the sake of emphasis. Here Dem. purposely underestimates his own services in order to place the conduct of *Æsch.* in a more conspicuous light. — τῆς μέντοι διακονίας, *but in the management of each of the affairs transacted I affirm that I also have a share.* διακονίας is contrasted by means of μέντοι w. προαιρέσεις and φρόνημα; to correspond to μέντοι (= δέ) there should be μὲν wh. is suppressed, as in § 201. W.

§ 207. τῶν ὅλων, *the whole*, i. e. both *the aims* (προαιρέσεις) and the *administration* (διακονία). This is a skilful turn of the orator: my part, he says, was merely to execute what you willed; your part was to cherish the noble purposes and adopt the most patriotic measures. Now *Æschines* attacks the whole, and in doing so commits a wrong against you greater than against me, inasmuch as your part was more prominent than mine, and the renown belonging to you is eternal, while the honor proposed for me is temporary. — γλίχεται is a strong word; acc. to its etymology it denotes a *tenuacious* and *eager* striving. — ἐγκώμια: *Arist. Rhet.*, I. 9, defines ἐγκώμιον as a special laudation bestowed for particular and brilliant action, while ἔπαινος signifies praise in general. — τουδί, i. e. *Ctesiphon*. — τῆ...ἀγνωμοσύνη, *by the perverseness of fortune*.

§ 208. μὰ τοὺς Μαραθῶνι, *no! by those of our ancestors who bore the brunt of the danger at Marathon.* The common reading has οὐ μὰ, but the negat. is readily understood w. μὰ. In the partic. the προ- implies the *fore-front* of the battle. So *Thuc.*, I. 73, represents the Athenians as saying: Μαραθῶνι τε μόνι προκινδυνεύσαι τῷ βαρβάρῳ. — Μαραθῶνι: the common text has ἐν M.; but the prep. is regularly omitted w. the names of Attic demes. Cf. H. 783 b; G. 1197; Cu. § 442. — ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, *off Artemisium*. It will be observed that the orator departs fr. the chronological order and names the land and the naval engagements in succession. — ἐν τοῖς...μνήμασι: these were in the outer Ceramicus, along the road leading to the Academy. Cf. *Pausan.*, I. 29; *Thuc.*, II. 34. But the heroes of Marathon lay buried on the field of battle. The custom of honoring those who had fallen in battle w. a burial at the expense of the state, goes back to the time of Solon. Cf. § 285. — ὁμοίως: emphatic. This lofty strain of eloquence, known as "the Demosthenic oath," has been deservedly admired by all critics. Cf. *Hermogenes*, p. 425; *Quint. Inst. Orat.*, XI. 3, 168; *Lord Brougham*, Vol. VII. 124. The chief points to be noted are



these : (1) This oath was an act of religious appeal, for wh. there was a sufficient ground in the belief and feelings of the audience ; it was not, therefore, an empty rhetorical flourish. (2) As a solemn appeal it served to rebuke Æsch., who had brought Dem. into disparaging contrast (see the passages cited fr. Æsch.) w. the ancient heroes of Greece. (3) The simplicity of the orator's style is apparent even in his most impassioned flights. Lord B. thus expresses himself on the word ἀγαθούς : “ Mark the severe simplicity, the subdued tone of diction, in the most touching parts of the *old man eloquent's* loftiest passages. In the oath, when he comes to the burial-place where they repose by whom he is swearing, if ever a grand epithet were allowable it is here ; yet the only one he applies is ἀγαθούς.” (4) The orator, while apparently carried away by his enthusiasm and passion, does not for a moment lose sight of his argument, but carefully subordinates everything to the main thought. “ He teaches us,” says Longinus, “ that in the height of passion we should retain our judgment. He nowhere says ‘ by those who were *victorious,*’ but everywhere shuns the word wh. would indicate the issue of the battles, lest the *defeat* of Chæronea should be suggested to his opponents or his hearers ; till at length he has prepared the way w. the hearers for the conclusion : *all of whom ALIKE the state buried, and not those alone who were successful.*”

§ 209. **γραμματοκύφων** : ἀντι τοῦ γραμματέως, ὅτι οἱ γραμματεῖς προκεκυφῆτες γράφουσιν. Etym. Magnum. Cf. § 261. The two epithets may be rendered by *accursed scribbler*. — **ἔλεγες** : cf. Æsch. § 181, cited on p. 92. — **ὧν τίνος**, i. e. they were irrelevant to the present case. — **ἐμὲ δέ, κ. τ. έ.**, and *I, who came forward as councillor to the city in matters pertaining to her supremacy, whose spirit ought I to have assumed in ascending the Bema?* — **τριταγωνιστά** : cf. note § 129. Observe the contrast implied in the juxtaposition of this epithet w. τῶν πρωτείων ; also the emphatic position of ἐμέ. — **τούτων** : masc., referring to the Athenians. Tyler follows Holmes in referring it to τρόπαια, κ. τ. έ.

§ 210. **τὰ...συμβόλαια** : obj. of κρίνειν ; lit. *contracts, agreements*, but here used of *civil suits* in a general sense. Cf. L. and Sc. — **ἐπὶ...σκοπούντας**, *by considering them in the light of*. For this sense of ἐπὶ w. σκοπεῖν cf. §§ 233, 294. — **ἀποβλέποντας**, *by looking away to the praiseworthy precedents*. — **παραλαμβάνειν**, *to take along* (παρά) ; depends on νομίξειν and has τὸ φρόνημα for its obj. — **τῇ βακτηρίᾳ καὶ τῷ συμβόλῳ** : each dicast received a staff, on wh. was painted the letter of the alphabet corresponding to the section of the Heliastic court in wh. he was to serve for that day, and a ticket upon wh. the name of the holder and the number of his division were written. At the close of the sitting the σύμβολον was given up as a voucher for the dicast's fee of 3 obols. — **τὰ δημόσια**, *the court-room*. — **ἐκείνων**, i. e. τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἀξιώματα.

§ 211. Ἄλλὰ γὰρ, *But enough, for*; denotes a transition. — ἐμπεσῶν: as if casually. — ἔστιν ἄ = ἔνα. — ὀπόθεν, sc. ἐκεῖσε ὀπόθεν; the digression begins w. § 180. — ἀφικόμεθ', *we had arrived*; i. e. we ambassadors. — τῶν ἄλλων, sc. the Ætolians, Dolopians, Phthiotans. — πρέσβεις: Amyntas and Clearchus are named as the Macedonian envoys. — νῦν: to prove that I am not telling a different story *now* fr. what was told at the time of the embassy.

§ 212. συκοφαντίας, *calumny*. — τὸν καιρόν: cf. Æsch., § 137 (cited below) and § 141 (cited on p. 54). — ὡς ἐτέρως: cf. § 85. — ὡς ἔοικεν: cf. § 203. — ὁ σύμβουλος καὶ ῥήτωρ: Diss. observes that the repetition of the article would be objectionable, as the ideas of σύμβουλος and ῥήτωρ flow into each other. The article is repeated in ἡ προαίρεσις καὶ ἡ πολιτεία (§ 93), τὸν τῆς εἰμαρμένης καὶ τὸν αὐτόματον (§ 205), τὸν πολιτευόμενον καὶ τὸν ῥήτορα (§ 278), where either the emphasis or a logical distinction seems to demand it. — οὐδὲν...συναίτιος: contrasted w. μόνος αἴτιος. In those things wh. might naturally be supposed to have been done in part by me, as being a statesman, he allows me no share; but for those misfortunes wh. are in no way related to my calling and work, I am alone responsible. What consistency!

§ 213. ἐποίησαντο, i. e. the Thebans. — ἐκείνους: the envoys fr. Philip and those fr. the other allies of Thebes, who had the precedence. — τὸ...κεφάλαιον = *in summa*. — ὦν = τούτων ἄ. — αὐτούς, i. e. the Thebans. — βούλονται: the direct for the indirect mode, to give vividness. — ἢ διέντας αὐτούς, *either by allowing themselves* (i. e. the same as ἐκείνους and subj. of ἡξίου) *a free passage through their territory* (Bœotia). — τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἄ. βοσκήματα: cf. § 44 and note. — ἐκ δὲ ὦν...πολέμου, *while as the result of what they affirmed we were about to advise, their property in Bœotia would be plundered by means of the war*. An argument, as W. remarks, that would have great force w. the selfish Thebans. — συντείνοντ', *all aiming at the same result*.

§ 214. ἡμεῖς: the ellipsis of ἐλέγομεν immediately after ἔλεγον is not harsh. Some MSS. have ἀντίπομεν. — τὰ μὲν...ἐγὼ μὲν: cf. note § 201. — ἀντὶ...τιμησαίμην, *to repeat these things severally I would count worth all my life*. — ὑμᾶς δὲ δέδοικα: prolepsis for δέδοικα μὴ ὑμεῖς. — ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ... ἡγούμενοι is elliptical; the full expression would be ἡγούμενοι ὥσπερ ἂν ἡγοῖσθε εἰ ἡγοῖσθε. Cf. Madv. G. S., § 139 c; G M T. 227; H. 905 a, 3; G. 1313. Transl.: *thinking that even a deluge, as it were, had swept over the events*; i. e. all trace of them had become obliterated.

§ 215. μετὰ ταῦτα: this narrative is entirely contradictory to the statement of Æsch., §§ 137, 140, 141. Diss. thinks that such a bare misrepresentation as this of Æsch. (assuming that the account of Dem. is true) could not have been made unchallenged before the court; and he regards

the passage as a later insertion in the revised edition of Æsch. — **ἐξήτε, ἔβηθητέ**: Bremi calls attention to the asyndeton as descriptive of rapid action. — **ὥστ' ἐξω τῶν ὀπλιτῶν**, *that, when our infantry and cavalry were encamped outside the walls*. Reiske understands that the Theban infantry and cavalry vacated their own city for the occupation of the Athenian army and encamped outside. This would be a "compliment" unheard of! Besides, as Diss. observes, the distinctive pronouns *your* and *their* could not be wanting. Bæckh *Econ.*, p. 387, speaks of the difficulty, owing to the laxity of discipline among the ancient soldiery, of obtaining permission to introduce an army into an allied city for quarters. The meaning seems plainly this: the Athenian forces after pitching their camps outside were invited to take up quarters in the houses of the Thebans; accordingly, *τὴν στρατιάν* embraces as a general term *τῶν ὀπλιτῶν* and *τῶν ἰππέων*. — **καθ' ὑμῶν** = *ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν*. So *Phil.*, II., § 9: *μέγιστον καθ' ὑμῶν ἐγκώμιον*. Contrariwise in *Hom. Il.*, VI. 524, *ὑπὲρ* = *κατά*: "Ὅθ' ὑπὲρ σέθεν αἰσχε' ἀκούω." — **σωφροσύνης**, *self-command*, Wh.; *good behavior*, Kenn.; *Enthaltsamkeit*, Jacobs. — **ἀμείνων**: explanatory of *ἀνδρίας*; *δικαιότερ' ἀξιοῦν* explanatory of *δικαιοσύνης*. — **καὶ τὰ...καὶ...δ', κ. τ. ἐ.**, *and what is kept under the closest guard not only by themselves but also by all men*.

§ 216. **κατὰ γ' ὑμᾶς** = *quod ad vos quidem attinet*. V. — **οὔτε...τε**: negat. and affirm. correlated; so often. — **τὰς πρώτας**: all the MSS. except Σ add *μάχας*. W. is the only editor we know of, besides Z, that follows Σ. Another instance of such a verbal ellipsis is found in *Lysias pro Mantith.*, § 15: *τῆς πρώτης* [sc. *μάχης*] *τεταγμένος μάχεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις*. But in our sentence we would more naturally supply *παρατάξεις* = *manœuvres, skirmishes*, fr. the preceding partic. W. thinks this admirably suited to the connection, as the allusion is probably to the preliminary marches and skirmishes by wh. the combined Thebans and Athenians sought to check the advance of Philip. — **τοῦ ποταμοῦ**, i. e. the Cephissus, wh. flows through the plain of Elatea and enters Bœotia not far fr. Charonea. — **τὴν χειμερινήν**: critics are divided as to the application of this epithet, some making it mean *the skirmish in the winter*, others *in the storm*. But for the latter meaning the word is properly *χειμέριος*. If, w. Grote, we suppose an interval of 10 months (fr. Oct. 339 to Aug. 338 B. C.) between the capture of Elatea and the battle of Charonea, there is no difficulty in placing these encounters early in the spring of 338 B. C., and understanding *χειμερινήν* of a wintry time among the mountain passes of Phocis, where snow is sometimes found in the spring months. But if, w. Clinton *Fast. Hellen.*, App., p. 16, we suppose that the battle of Charonea occurred only 50 days after the news arrived of Philip's entrance into Phocis, we have no recourse left other than to say w. him, "the word *χειμερινήν* is probably corrupt."

§ 217. ζήλου, *emulation, enthusiasm*. — εἰ μὲν...εἰ.....εἰ δὲ...εἰ: cf. εἰάν δ'...ἄν, § 178 and note. — εἰ ὦν...μάρτυρας, *if what he himself called the gods to witness as being most excellent*; sc. by participating in the sacrifices, etc. (συνέθνε). — ψηφίσασθαι, i. e. by condemning Ctes., wh. would necessarily imply a condemnation of the orator's policy. — τοὺς θεοὺς: the gods by whom the judges were sworn were the same as those to whom Æsch. had sacrificed. — εἰ δὲ μὴ παρήν presents the other horn of the dilemma. Lord B. comments upon the exquisite diction, the majestic rhythm, the skilful collocation of this passage. The dilemma, he remarks, is better than the average dilemmas of oratory, and quite sufficient, though incomplete, for the momentary victory at wh. alone the orator often aims. What retort could Æsch. obviously have made?

§ 218. Θεβαῖοι...νομίζειν, *but the Thebans were in the belief that they had been preserved through us*. The careful student will have noticed before this the fondness of Dem. for infinitive clauses w. the article. — τοῖς νομίζουσιν, i. e. ἡμῶν. So reads Σ; all other MSS. have δοκοῦσιν. V. supposes νομίζουσιν to be a corruption due to the proximity of νομίζειν. — οὗτοι refers to Æsch. and his associates. — ἐπεμπεν: the imperf. denotes the frequency of this correspondence, the object of wh. was to incite his allies in the Peloponn. war to render him more prompt assistance. Cf. § 156. — συνέχεια, κ. τ. έ., *my persistence, and my wanderings* (sc. his πρέσβειαι), *and my hardships*. — διέσυρε: there is no passage in Æsch. speech where this is done. But cf. Aesch. c. Ctes., § 100. — τί is placed last for emphasis.

§ 219. Καλλίστρατος, *that distinguished Cullistratus*. He was the most eminent orator of his period, and is said to have incited Dem. when a boy to the study of eloquence by his speech on Oropus. — Ἄριστοφῶν: cf. § 70. — Κέφαλος: cf. § 251. — Θρασύβουλος: of Collytus; not the famous deliverer of Athens from the rule of the Thirty Tyrants. — διὰ παντός = ἀπλῶς. Cf. §§ 88, 179. — ὑπέλειπε, *was wont to reserve for himself privately*. ὑπό expresses the underlying motive. — εἴ τι γένοιτ', *euphemistic for in case of a calamity*. — ἀναφοράν, *a final resource, a means of recovery*.

§ 220. οὕτως: very emphatic; join w. μέγαν εἶναι. — ἔδοκει, sc. ὁ κίνδυνος. — χώραν οὐδὲ πρόνοιαν, *that it seemed to me to allow no opportunity nor even forethought for personal safety*. τῆς ἀσφαλείας belongs gramm. to πρόνοιαν, but logically also to χώραν wh. would be followed by the dat. — ἀγαπητὸν εἶναι, *one must be content*. The orator means to say that in his opinion duty to country should in such a crisis overshadow all personal considerations, and one should be thankful if he were able to discharge that duty.

§ 221. ὑπὲρ = περὶ: cf. note § 9. — γράφοντ' ἄν: the partic. express the condition (cf. §§ 30, 190); ἄν to be taken w. the infin. γράψαι, πράξαι, ποιεῖσθαι. — μηδέ, *nor even*. — ἐν πᾶσιν...ἔταπτον, *in all public affairs I*



constantly made myself the foremost. W. considers the phrase nearly synonymous w. *ἔδωκα ἑμάντων* in §§ 179, 197, 219.

§ 222. *Εἰς ταῦτα, κ. τ. ἐ.*: the rhetorical order of the Greek may be imitated in Engl.: *This is the condition into which, etc.; this is the utterance which, etc.* — *ἐπαίρομενος λόγους*, *he who before this hurled many defiant boasts against the city.* *φωνὴν ἐπαίρειν*, § 291, = *to lift up the voice* in loud tones. — *Διώνδας*: cf. § 249. Acc. to the author of the *Lives of the Ten Orators*, 848 c, Diondas prosecuted not only the authors of this decree, Demomeles and Hyperides, but also Aristonicus (§ 223). — *τὸ μέρος*: cf. note § 103. — *ἀποπεφευγότα*, *acquitted*, rarely used of *things*.

§ 223. *Ἀριστόνικος*: cf. note § 83, where the decree of Demom. and Hyper. is taken as a single one, and that of Ctes. is regarded as *third* in order. — *συγκατηγόρησεν*: the usages of Athenian law-courts permitted the prosecutor to associate w. himself several assistants in making complaint and in carrying on the suit. Cf. Meier and Schöm. *Att. Proc.*, p. 710. — *Δημομέλη*: a cousin of Dem. A. Schaeff., II. 528, conjectures that the crowning proposed by Demom. occurred at the great Dionysia, April, 338 B. C., and that proposed by Hyper. at the Panathenaic festival, August, 338 B. C. I prefer the view of W., that Hyper. was only incidentally connected w. the crowning proposed by Demom. — *μᾶλλον...εἰκότως*, *more properly than this man*, i. e. Ctes.; simply because it is more fitting to punish the first offence than the second after the first has been passed by unnoticed.

§ 224. *τῷδε*: refers to Ctes.; *ἐκείνους* to the persons just mentioned; *τοῦτον αὐτὸν* to Æsch.; *οὗτος* to Ctes. again. — *ἀνευγκεῖν ἐπ'*, *to refer to* (as a precedent). The force of the prep. remains throughout the sentence. — *περὶ τῶν οὕτω πραχθέντων*, i. e. legally settled. A suit once decided could not be renewed in an Athenian court of law. But the suit brought by Æsch. was not exactly identical w. that brought by Diondas against Demom. and Hyper.; so that the *spirit* of the law, rather than its letter, is meant, and the argument of Dem. is a *moral* rather than a *legal* one. — *τότε*, *in that case*; i. e. supposing Æsch. had brought suit in the first instance. — *τὸ πρᾶγμα, κ. τ. ἐ.*, *the real question* (i. e. whether Dem. was deserving of a crown or not) *would have been tried on its own merits, before it had obtained any of these precedents.* These points seem well taken.

§ 225. *οἶμαι*: ironical. — *ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων, κ. τ. ἐ.*: he means the transactions connected w. the peace of Philocrates. — *μήτε...μηδεῖς, st. οὔτε...οὔδεῖς*, because there is a shade of uncertainty in the thought, wh. is implied in *οἶμαι*. — *προφάσεις*: cf. note § 156. — *δοκεῖν τι λέγειν*, *to seem to speak to the purpose.* *οὐδὲν λέγειν* = *to speak to no purpose.*

§ 226. *ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας*: cf. note § 17. — *μόνον οὐκ* = *all but*. — *τοὺς...φυγῶν*: the same point is made in § 15. — *κρίσιν*: subj. of *ἔσεσθαι*.

§ 227. *περὶ ἡμῶν*, i. e. Æsch. and himself. Dem. makes the illustration of his rival apply to them both. This idea is brought out more fully in the sentence: *οὐ γὰρ ἂν μεταπέθειν, κ. τ. ἐ.*, § 228. — *περιεῖναι χρήματά τω*, *that money remains over in the hands of some one*. The figure is taken fr. trade or banking business. — *καθαίρωσιν*, lit. *if the pebbles cancel or remove*, sc. one's credit of money (*τὰ χρήματα*); i. e. if accounts balance. This sense of *καθαίρειν* seems somewhat forced; *αἰρεῖν* in the passage cited fr. Æsch. is to be taken in much the same way, and *ἀντανελεῖν* (lit. *to take up on the opposite side*), § 231, has the same sense. Other Editt. except V. read *καθαίρωσιν*, wh. is explained as referring to *clearing away the pebbles from the board* (cf. *ἀβάκιον*, Abacus, Dict. Antiq.) in opposite columns of debit and credit, until the whole board is *cleared* and accounts balance.

§ 228. *σοφοῦ*, “*sapient*.” Lord B. — *ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωσμένους*: cf. § 95. *οὐ γὰρ ἂν, κ. τ. ἐ.*, *for he would not be seeking to change your mind, if there were not such an opinion as this existing in regard to each of us*. Dem. proves himself skilful in retort.

§ 229. *πιθεῖς ψήφους*, *by casting up accounts*. — *οὗτος λογισμός*: *οὗτος* is predicate; *for the mode of reckoning public deeds is not this* (i. e. the arithmetical, but another).

§ 230. *παραταξαμένους*: in agreement w. *αὐτούς* supplied fr. *Θηβαίους* and subj. of *κωλύειν*. — *ἑπτακόσια στάδια*: cf. note § 195. — *τούς ληστὰς*: cf. note §§ 145, 241. — *φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν* = *to plunder*. — *ἐν εἰρήνῃ*: antithetic position to *τὸν πόλεμον*. — *ἐκ θαλάττης*, *from the sea* reckoning landwards, hence *on the side of the sea*; referring to the security of the coasts fr. predatory invasions. — *λαβόντα*, *after he should have taken Byzantium*; to be taken in close connection w. Philip's *conceived* (not actual) occupation of the Hellespont.

§ 231. *ψήφοις*, sc. *τῷ τῶν ψήφων λογισμῷ*: the orator doubtless asked this question in a sneering tone: Can the statement of deliverance fr. such threatened calamities be likened to an arithmetical computation of debit and credit? — *ἢ... ἀντανελεῖν, κ. τ. ἐ.*, *or does it seem to you proper to offset these against each other?* Cf. note § 227. Does he mean (1) offset his own good deeds or benefits against the misfortunes that are charged to his administration; as Lord B. expresses it: “Must these events be taken out of the opposite side of my account?” Or (2) offset these benefits just enumerated against the common misfortunes of the country; wh. is the interpretation of Reiske, Wh., Kenn., et al. Or (3) should our deeds be made to cancel each other; are my services to the country to be set over against your misdeeds, so that they mutually cancel, and neither go down to later remembrance? The last interpretation seems most in accordance w. the spirit of the entire passage. In the preceding section Dem. implies that the calamities

wh. were prevented by his policy would have been the legitimate result of his rival's conduct. And we understand this inquiry to be directed, as the one just before, to Æsch., and w. a touch of sarcasm. The thought, then, of the passage is this: when Æsch. asks the Athenians to change their opinion respecting Dem. by taking into consideration the debit side of his account, Dem. responds: "let our accounts stand as they are; they are not to be cast up and balanced as trading accounts, and then forgotten." — **προστίθημι**, *add to the account*; a mercantile term in harmony w. the preceding λογισμός. — **ἐν οἷς**, *in those cases in which*. — **καθάπαξ**: cf. § 197. — **ἑτέροις** means the Phocians and Locrians, also the Thebans after the battle of Chæronea. — **τῆς φιλανθρωπίας** refers to Philip's generous and kind treatment of the Athenians after the battle of Chæronea. Demades *Fragm.* 1, says: *Ἐγραφα καὶ Φιλίππῳ τιμὰς οὐκ ἀρνοῦμαι. δισχιλίους γὰρ αἰχμαλώτους ἀνευ λύτρων, καὶ χίλια πολιτῶν σώματα χωρὶς κήρυκος, καὶ τὸν Ὀρωπὸν ἀνευ πρεσβείας λαβὼν ὑμῶν ταῦτ' ἔγραφα.* Cf. also Polyb., V. 10. — **περιβαλλόμενος**, *with a view to accomplishing the rest of his purposes*. *περιβάλλεσθαι* = *to compass or embrace in one's plans*; cf. Isocr. *Panegyri.*, § 184. — **καλῶς ποιοῦντες**, *happily*; indicating the subjective feeling of the speaker, = *I am happy to say*. The difference between this and *καλῶς πράττοντες* is clearly shown in Dem. c. *Leptin.*, § 110: *ὅτε δ' ὑμεῖς, καλῶς ποιοῦντες, καὶ κατὰ τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ κατὰ τὰλλα πάντα ἄμεινον ἐκείνων πράττετε.*

§ 232. **παραδείγματα πλάττων**, *manufacturing illustrations*; such e. g. as that of the ψῆφοι. — **ῥήματα σχήματα**: the former Cic., *Orat.* VIII., understands of the criticism Æsch. (§§ 72, 166) made upon several *expressions* used by Dem.; the latter word may refer to the mimicking of certain *gestures* peculiar to Dem., wh. were, perchance, not altogether in precise keeping (cf. Æsch., § 167) w. the artificial rules of the schools. — **πάνυ γὰρ**, *for altogether in consequence of this — don't you see? — have come about the affairs of the Greeks*. A similar ironical use of οὐχ ὄραξ is found in § 266. — **παρήνεγκα**, *I extended my hand on this side, but not on that side*.

§ 233. **ἐπ'...ἔσκόπει**: cf. note § 210. — **ἀφορμάς**, *resources*; particularly *financial*, as distinct fr. *military* (δυνάμεις). — **ἐπιστάς**: cf. § 60. — **ἐποίησα...ἔδεικνυεν**: notice the diff. in the tenses: *if I had made...he would (now) point out*. — **χρήσομαι τῷ λόγῳ**, *I shall make the statement*; an emphatic paraphrase for λέξω.

§ 234. **τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους**: when the peace of 346 B. C. was concluded, Athens had control over Peparethos, Proconnesos, Tenedos, Thasos, Scia- thos, in addition to Lemnos, Imbros, Scyros, Samos, wh. belonged to her as dependencies. Chios and Rhodes had torn themselves loose in the Social War, 357–355 B. C.; about the same time also occurred the revolt of

Coreyra. — **σύνταξιν**: a euphemistic word, whose origin Harpocr. explains: *ἔλεγον τοὺς φόρους συντάξεις, ἐπειδὴ χαλεπῶς ἔφερον οἱ Ἕλληνες τὸ τῶν φόρων ὄνομα*. Bœekh *Publ. Econ.*, p. 544, surmises that this contribution was subsequently increased (cf. § 237) to as much as 400 talents. Cf. *Dem. Phil.*, IV., § 37 ff. This contribution was made under the new Athenian confederacy formed in 377 B. C. See Grote, X., cap. 77. — **προεξείλεγμένα**, *collected in advance, anticipated*. Cf. *Dem. Phil.*, I., § 34. — **ὀπλίτην... ἰππέα**: an instance of *asyndeton*. Cf. § 67. — **τῶν οἰκείων**, *the citizen-soldiery*; the same as *τῶν πολίτικῶν*, § 237, in distinction fr. mercenary troops wh. are meant by *ὀπλίτην, ἰππέα* and *ξένοι* (§ 237). — **φοβερῶτατον**, sc. *ἦν*. — **οὔτοι**: Æsch. and his associates.

§ 235. **πῶς**, sc. *ὑπῆρχεν ἔχοντα*. — **προλέγων... βουλευόμενος... φεύγων... ὑπεύθυνος**: a most lifelike picture of the comparative weakness and strength of a democratic and despotic form of government. Cf. *Isocr. Nicol.*, § 19. Larned compares Canning's description of Bonaparte's power: "He asks no counsel, he renders no account, he wields at will the population and resources of a mighty empire and its dependent states."

§ 236. **καὶ γὰρ τοῦτ'**: the force of *καὶ* = *also* falls upon *τοῦτ'*, wh. refers by anticipation to *τίνος κύριος ἦν*. — **πρῶτον** has no corresponding *εἶτα* expressed; the next point in the enumeration is *ἴσα... περιγένοιτο*. — **οὐ μόνου μετεῖχον**: his *only* privilege, as compared w. the advantages of Philip, was that of haranguing the people, and this he had to share w. his opponents. — **περιγένοιτο**, *and whatever successes these gained over me*; he means in the discussions and resolutions of the Assembly. — **δι'... ἦν... πρόφασιν**, *through whatever pretext each success might chance to arise*. *ἕκαστον* = *τὸ περιγενέσθαι*. With *τύχοι* supply *γινόμενον*. — **ταῦθ'... βεβουλευμένοι**, *these you adopted in favor of the enemy, and then took your departure* (sc. fr. the Assembly).

§ 237. **ἐκ**, *out of*; i. e. as starting-points. — **Μεγαρέας** is written *Μεγαρεῖς*, § 234. — **τῶν πολιτικῶν**: cf. note § 234. — **συντέλειαν**, *joint contribution*. — **ἴσων... πλείστην**: *ἴσων* would be the usual constr.; the genit. is due to attraction. A decree found at the close of the *Lives of the Ten Orators* states that this contribution amounted to more than 500 talents.

§ 238. **τὰ... δίκαια**, *our just dues as regards the Thebans*. He alludes to the complaints of Æsch. contained in § 143, wh. is cited on p. 85. — **τὰ πρὸς Βυζαντίους**: cf. note § 95. — **τὰ πρὸς Εὐβοέας**: cf. Æsch., §§ 92, 93. — **τῶν ἴσων**: "*τὰ ἴσα hoc loco sunt æquæ portiones sumptuum in bellum faciendorum*." Schæf. — **τῶν... τριήρων**: genit. of the whole depending on *τὰς διακοσίας*. — **τριακοσίων**: the whole number of ships at the battle of Salamis is given by Thuc., I. 74, acc. to some MSS., as 300, acc. to other MSS., as 400, of wh. Athens furnished two thirds. Herod., VIII. 48, says there



were 378, and of these 180 were Athenian. — **ἐλαττούσθαι**, *to be defrauded*. Dem. turns into a meritorious act what Æsch. had censured as an injustice practised upon the city by Thebes, through the venality of Dem.

§ 239. **κενός, κ. τ. έ.**: *you confer upon these* (i. e. the Athenians) *empty favors in calumniating me*; empty, because so entirely useless after all was over. — **παρῶν**, i. e. in the Assembly, as **ἔγραφες** shows. — **ἐνεδέχετο**, *if, indeed, they* (ταῦτα) *admitted of it*, sc. **πράττειν**; i. e. if they were practicable. — **παρὰ** = **διὰ**: *on account of, under the existing circumstances*. Schæf. But the sense seems quite as good if we take it as in **παρ' αὐτὰ τὰδικήματα**, § 13, = *at the moment of*; implying that the crises were such as to demand instantaneous action, when they had to accept what they could get, without deliberating upon what they might wish to have. — **ἴσα ἠβουλόμεθα**: the indic. denotes what is definite; **δοίη**, the optat., denotes what is indefinite. — **καί...καί**, *not only...but also*. — **τοὺς...ἀπελαυνομένους**: W. takes in a hypothetical sense, and as referring to the Thebans and others who were negotiating for an alliance w. Athens, in case *they should be repulsed* through the exorbitant demands of the Athenians.

§ 240. **νῦν**, *as the case stands*. — **κατηγορίας**: the plural, since there were many points embraced in the one formal accusation. — **ἄν** adds emphasis to **τί** and modifies **ποιεῖν...λέγειν** below, where it is repeated. Cf. G M T. 223, 224; G. 1312. — **τούτων**, i. e. **τὰ πρὸς Θηβαίους δίκαια** in § 238. — **ἀκριβολογουμένου**: deriv.? *chaffering, haggling*.

§ 241. **οὐχ**, sc. **ἄν ἔλεγον**. — **βουλόμενοι** refers to the people of the πόλεις above. — **εἶτα**, *furthermore*; it continues the question in the direct form introduced by **οὐχ**; the whole is summed up at the close in **οὐκ ἄν ταῦτ' ἔλεγον**. — **τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, κ. τ. έ.**: the calamities wh. in § 230 he named as the impending results of the policy of his rival, the orator here sums up in a different order as likely to be laid to *his* charge by Æsch., had he not prevented them. His enemies now find fault w. the means by wh. he averted the calamities wh. they were preparing; but these very calamities, had they occurred, they would have laid at his door; they were bound to blame him anyhow. — **σιτοπομπίας**: cf. note § 87. — **τῶν ληστῶν**: cf. note § 145. — **καί...γε, γεα...and**.

§ 242. **φύσει κίναδος**: cf. note § 162. — **τάνθρώπιόν**, *manikin, apology for a man*; the neuter and the diminutive combining to form the contemptuous term. — **αὐτοτραγικός πίθηκος**: an allusion, probably, to his extravagant imitations and mimeries on the stage. — **ἄρουραῖος Οἰνόμαος**: cf. note § 180. — **δαιότης**, *power as an orator, eloquence*. — **πατρίδι**: for the omission of the art. cf. § 170. — **νῦν**, *now at last, to-day*; this emphasis belongs to it also in **νῦν λέγεις**; § 243.

§ 243. **ὥσπερ ἄν εἶ**: the ellipsis (cf. § 194) is somewhat as follows: *to do*

so is just as absurd as it would be (ὡςπερ ἂν εἶ) if, etc. — ἀσθενοῦσι, κ. τ. ἐ., visiting his patients in the course of their sickness. On the parallel passage in Æsch. given below, see Introduction, p. xv. — τὰ νομιζόμενα, the customary rites were being performed over him. — τὸ καὶ τὸ, this and that, so and so; an instance of the original demonstrative use of the article — ἄνθρωπος: Bekk.'s emendation for ἄνθρωπος of the MSS., on the ground that the art. is needed w. the demonstr. pronoun. — εἶτα νῦν, do you then now at last (when all is over) speak?

§ 244. τοίνυν marks the conclusion. — τὴν ἴτταν: at Chieronea. — παρ' ἐμοί, in my power. — ὅποι ἐπέμφθην: the indic. emphasizes the actual fact, while πεμφθείην, § 45, states the fact indefinitely. — οὐκ...οὐκ...οὐκ...οὐ...οὐκ...οὐκ...οὐ: a marked instance of *asyndeton*, adding much emphasis to the expression. — Θετταλίας: of these embassies little is known besides what is said in this oration and in the Third Philippic. The Theban has been described in § 211 ff.; that to Byzantium, in § 88. The kings of the Thracians were Teres and Cersobleptes. The latter Æsch., § 61, mentions as ἀδρα φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον τῇ πόλει. — ἄλλοθεν οὐδαμότεν: Dem. also went on a similar embassy to the Peloponn. states. Cf. § 79 and note § 45. — ἄλλ' ἐν οἷς, κ. τ. ἐ., but where his ambassadors were vanquished in argument, he came with arms and carried the day. Kenn.

§ 245. μαλακίαν σκώπτων, scoffing at the same man for cowardice. In allusion to the charge of Æsch. that he had fled fr. his post on the field of battle. This story, first found in Æsch., grew as it was repeated, until in the *Lives of the Ten Orators*, p. 845, it is narrated as a fact, that Dem., as he was fleeing fr. the battle-field, became entangled in a bramble-bush, and panic-stricken turned to the bush, saying: "Spare my life and take me prisoner!" Against this charge the orator finds a sufficient defence in this and the succeeding sections. — τῆς...ψυχῆς: commentators are uncertain whether to take this as *courage, temper, or as life*.

§ 246. πᾶσαν εξέτασιν, a full examination. — οὐ παραιτούμαι: I do not beg off. — πέπρακταί: Grote, XI. 121, remarks upon this claim of Dem.: "The first Philippic is alone sufficient to prove, how justly Dem. lays claim to the merit of having 'seen events in their beginnings' and given timely warning to his countrymen." — πολιτικά = οἰκεία; which are inherent and unavoidable defects belonging to all popular governments. πόλις is used here in the sense of πολιτεία. Cf. Isocr. *Nicochl.*, § 17 ff., for a comparison between democratic and monarchical government. — ὡς: separated fr. the superlative by a prep. Cf. § 288. — προτρέψαι, sc. τὰς πόλεις. — οὐδείς μὴ εὕρη = οὐ μὴ τις εὕρη. For οὐ μὴ w. subj. cf. GMT. 294, 295; H. 1032; G. 1360; Cu. § 620.

§ 247. τῷ δίδόναι καὶ διαφθεῖρην, by promises and bribes to those in power.

Cf. note § 45. — τῶν κατὰ ταῦτα πραχθέντων, of the deeds done in this department ; i. e. as κύριος and ἡγεμῶν τῶν δυνάμεων. — τῷ διαφθάρηναι, in the matter of being bribed by money or not. τῷ διαφθ. is dat. respect. — ὁ ὠνούμενος, the bidder. — τὸ κατ' ἐμέ : the logic is clear : by two means Philip conquered, sc. arms and bribery. But with arms I had nothing to do, and as to bribery, I proved myself incorruptible ; ergo, the defeat of the city is chargeable to me neither in this nor in that.

IV. §§ 248 – 290. DEMOSTHENES DEFENDS HIS POLICY AGAINST THE CHARGE OF BEING UNFORTUNATE ; COMPARES THE FORTUNE OF ATHENS WITH THAT OF OTHER STATES, AND HIS OWN FORTUNE WITH THAT OF ÆSCHINES ; AND FINALLY APPEALS FOR VINDICATION OF HIS POLICY TO THE INDORSEMENT OF THE PEOPLE AFTER THE BATTLE OF CHÆRONEA. 'Α μὲν : relat. clause precedes for the sake of emphasis. — τοῦτον : Ctesiphon. ταῦτα : wh. have been enumerated. — ὑμεῖς, sc. παρέσχεσθε εἰς τὸ, κ. τ. ε. — τὴν μάχην : of Chæronea. — θαυμαστὸν ἦν, when it would not have been at all surprising, if the multitude had become disaffected towards me. For θαυμαστὸν ἦν cf. note on ἐξήρκει, § 196. — πρῶτον μὲν : fearing an immediate attack fr. Philip, the Athenians placed their city in a state of defence w. all possible speed. Read the graphic account given by Lyeurgus in his speech against *Leocrates*, §§ 39 – 44, of the state of feeling at Athens in consequence of the defeat at Chæronea. — πάνθ'... διὰ τῶν ἐμῶν ψ. : an inexcusable exaggeration. The proposal to place the Peiræus in a state of defence, to make the Metics citizens, to set free a portion of the slaves, to restore to citizenship those who had lost their political rights, to bring the women and children to the Peiræus for safety, was made by Hyperides the orator. — τὰ εἰς τὰ τεῖχη χρ. : the hasty and tumultuous preparations of defence described by Lyeurg. l. c. are meant, for wh. a special contribution seems to have been made. Cf. §§ 171, 312. — σιτώνην, grain commissioner. Special commissions were appointed in time of war and of unusual scarcity to procure an extra importation of grain.

§ 249. μετὰ ταῦτα : when the excitement had died away, and Philip had announced through Demades his friendly intentions. — συστάντων : without the art. to make it indefinite. — γραφάς, sc. παρανόμων, as appears fr. ἔννομα γράφειν in § 250. — εἰθύναι, complaints for maladministration. — εἰσαγγελίας : cf. note § 13. — τό γε πρῶτον, at first ; the emphasis of γε indicates that they did later. The leaders of the Macedonian faction had to move cautiously, as there was still strong sympathy w. Dem. among the people. — ἐκρινόμεν, I was brought to trial. — Σωσικλέους : nothing further than what is here mentioned is known of him nor of Μέλαντος. — Φιλοκράτους : not the same person as the one mentioned in § 21, but of Eleusis. — Διώνδου : cf. § 222. — τοίνυν resumes the thought interrupted by the

long parenthesis. — **τοῦτο**, i. e. τὸ δίκαιως ἐμὲ σωθῆναι. — **γόντων τὰ εὐρκα**, gave a verdict in accordance with their oath.

§ 250. **τὸ μέρος**: cf. § 103. — **ἐπησημαίνεσθε**, you were indorsing; lit. setting the seal upon, spoken of the logistæ. The force of the impf. in all these verbs must not be overlooked. — **οὐχ δ...τιθέμενον**, not that (name) which he saw the people affixing. — **δήμον...δικαστᾶς...ἀλήθειαν**: correspond in their order to the different kinds of trial referred to by Dem. above; thus, the *εἰσαγγελία* was tried before the demus, the *γραφὴ παρανόμων* before the dicasts, and the *εὐθύνη* before the logistæ where the trial was an issue of fact.

§ 251. **τοῦ Κεφάλου**: a statesman who flourished at the time of the restoration of the democracy under Thrasybulus. He was instrumental in uniting Thebes and Athens during the Corinthian war. — **τὸ...φεύγειν**, but it was the honor of Cephalus that he was never indicted. — **μᾶλλον**, sc. διὰ τοῦτο: the sense is: why should a man who has never been convicted, but often been tried, on this account be held in reproach more justly than the man who has never been on trial? — **πρὸς γε τοῦτον**, as far as this man (Æsch.) is concerned. — **ἐγράψατό...ἔδιωξε**: the former verb denotes the act of bringing in the bill, the latter that of carrying it through the court. — **μηδὲν**, st. οὐδέν, because it is as the acknowledgment of Æsch. (not as the absolute fact) that he is in no respect a worse citizen. For the form of the neg. cf. G M T. 685.

§ 252. **ἐγὼ...ἠγοῦμαι...ἑτέρῳ**: this sentence passed into a proverb, and is found in the *Florilegium* of Stobæus. — **ἦν γὰρ**: the relat. precedes the antecedent *ταύτης*. By beginning the transl. w. *πῶς χρὴ, κ. τ. ἐ.*, the student will make a clearer Engl. sentence. — **χρήται τῷ λόγῳ**: cf. § 233. — **ἀνθρωπινώτερον**: the sense is *with a more just notion of human life*.

§ 253. **Δωδωναίων**: the oracle of Zeus at Dodona was the most venerable of all the Greek oracles, although long ago superseded in influence by that of Apollo at Delphi. It may be that the orator purposely passes the Delphic oracle by from a suspicion of its truthfulness and patriotism, — a suspicion attributed to him by Æsch. in the words *φιλιππίζειν τὴν Πιθίαν φάσκων*. — **ἣ νῦν ἐπέχει**, which now prevails. — **τίς γὰρ...πεπείραται**: at this time Thebes was in ruins, the recent uprising against Macedon in the Peloponnesus had been quelled by Antipater, and Alexander was in the midst of his conquests in Asia.

§ 254. **τὸ...ἄμεινον πράττειν**, and to fare better than. — **διάξειν**: in direct discourse the sentence would be: *εἰάν προώμεθα...διάξομεν*. — **τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης**: partit. genit. Athens, though under the Macedonian yoke w. the rest of the Greek states, preserved its independence in affairs of home government much better than those Peloponnesian states (*τῶν οὐκ ἐπὶ φιλίππων...διάξειν*) that had stood aloof fr. the struggle against Philip. —



**τὸ δὲ προσκρούσαι**, and that there were reverses; the sentence is the obj. of *μετεिल्φέναι*, wh., like *μεταδίδωμι* and *μετέχω*, may be followed by the accus. as well as by the partit. genit. — **τὸ μέρος**: in appos. w. the preceding infinitives; as that portion of the fortune of the rest of mankind which has been allotted to us.

§ 255. **ἴδιαν... ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις**, *personal... in personal affairs*; not in public matters. This is in reply to the charge of Æsch. that the misfortunes of the state were partly due to the ill-starred fortune of Dem. — **ὑμῖν**, sc. *δοκεῖν* fr. *δοκῶ*. Inferior MSS. add *συνδοκεῖν*. — **ὁ δὲ**, in contrast w. *ἐγὼ μὲν*. — **κυριωτέραν**, *paramount to*; i. e. more effective for weal or woe.

§ 256. **πάντως**, *altogether, at any rate*; modifies the idea of *προαιρεῖ*: *ἐξετάζειν*. — **μου πρὸς Διὸς**: the same order is found in § 199. — **ψυχρότητα**, *folly*, Lord B.; *bad taste*, Kenn.; *coldness, indifference*, L. and Sc.; *ungenerous feeling* is the excellent rendering of Holmes, who explains the word as denoting “a lack of that human warmth of heart and sympathy which would naturally produce great tenderness of word and deed towards the unfortunate.” — **προπηλακίζει**: cf. *προπηλακισμόν*, § 12. — **ἀναγκάζομαι**: the orator makes the same excuse in § 126. — **ἐκ τῶν ἐνότων**, *under the existing circumstances*; lit. *out of the things possible*, i. e. as material.

§ 257. **τὰ προσήκοντα διδασκαλεῖα**, *it was my lot to attend respectable schools when I was a boy*; in distinction fr. the schools attended by his rival. A Greek school education, as described by Plato *Protag.*, p. 325, consisted of (1) *γράμματα* = *language spoken and written*; (2) *literature*, or the study of authors; (3) *music*, including rhythm; (4) *εὐκοσμία* = *good principles and proper behavior*. Before **τὰ προσήκοντα** all MSS. except Σ and L. have *μὲν ὄντι φοιτᾶν εἰς* = *to attend upon*; this reading may have arisen fr. the desire to obviate the harshness of the constr. that joins *ὑπῆρχεν* first w. a subst. and then w. an infin. (*ἔχεν*). — **ὄσα... ἐνδείαν**: the father of Dem. left property to the value of 14 talents. How dishonestly this estate was administered by the guardians of Dem., so that but a small fraction of it fell to him as inheritance, we learn fr. his speech against *Archobus*, I., §§ 4–11. — **ἐξελθόντι**, i. e. when he became an *εφηβος*. — **ἀκόλουθα τούτοις**, *in keeping with these (my) circumstances*. — **χορηγεῖν**, *to act as choragus*. See *Dict. Antiq.* Dem. is known to have been *choragus* in 350 B. C., when the difficulty w. Midias occurred. Cf. *Orat. c. Mid.*, § 13. — **τριηραρχεῖν**: cf. note § 102. The duties of *trierarch* were performed by Dem. several times: once in the Eubœan war (357 B. C.); cf. § 99. His guardians had him enrolled in the *first class*, and he was for 10 years *ἡγεμῶν συμμορίας*. Cf. §§ 102, 103. — **εἰσφέρειν**, *to contribute*. *Notum est hici de tributo extraordinario ad belli necessitates*. Diss. — **φιλοτιμίας**,

*acts of liberality*, Kenn.; *Freigebigkeit*, Jacobs. Two such *acts of generosity* are alluded to in § 268. — *πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ* = *upon public life*. — *πολλάκις ἐστεφανῶσθαι*: cf. §§ 83, 120, 222. — *καλά γ'*, *honorable at least*; however disastrous the result may have been. “Dem. never forgets his leading distinctions.” LARNED.

§ 258. *ἂν ἔχων* = *ἂν ἔχοιμι*: cf. note § 96. The partic. w. concessive force occurs without *ἂν* in §§ 138, 264. — *φυλαττόμενος τὸ λυπήσασθαι* = *φυλ. μὴ λυπήσω*. Cf. G M T. 374. — *σεμνύομαι*: here used w. *ἐν*, but in § 259 w. *ἐπί*. The antec. of *οἷς* may be understood as *τοῖς πράγμασι*. — *σεμνυόμενος*: this word is repeated w. a certain degree of bitterness. — *ποία τινί*, *what sort of a*; the addition of *τις* adds to the indefiniteness of the question. W. remarks that this entire passage now following, as well as that contained in § 129, is to be regarded as the revenge of Dem. for his rival's similar attack upon him. (Cf. *Æsch.*, § 171 ff.) We could wish that the orator's revenge had been, instead of this, a dignified and contemptuous silence. — *τριβῶν*: the ink was probably prepared, like our India ink, by rubbing from a cake. — *οἰκέτου, κ. τ. ἐ.*, *having the rank of a menial, not of a gentleman's son*.

§ 259. *τελοῦση*, *engaged in the rites of initiation*. The allusion is to the celebration of Orphic-Bacchic mysteries of Phrygian origin, wh., though under the public ban, had gained at that time considerable foothold in Greece, owing to the prevalent taste for semi-religious excesses. The deity who was worshipped in these rites was Sabazius or Sabadius, the son of Rhea or Cybele, who in later times was identified w. Dionysus Sabazius. (Cf. *Aristoph. Av.*, 875. — *βίβλους*: Plato *Republ.*, II. 7, speaks of the large number and extensive influence of soothsayers and priests, who carried about with them *volumes of oracular sayings and formulæ of consecration*, wh. they pretended came from Orpheus and Musæus. — *νεβρίζων*, *wrapping in fawn-skins* (sc. the novitiates). — *κρατηρίζων* is defined by Phot. *Lex.* as *οἶνον ἀπὸ κρατήρων ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις σπένδων*. — *ἀπομάπτω* is explained by Wyttenbach (ad *Plut. de Superstit.*, p. 166) as follows: “*Lustrationis pars erat ut corpus lustrandum circumlineretur et quasi circumpinsetur imprimis luto [πηλῶ], tum abstergeretur [πιτύροις], quorum illud est περιμάπτειν hoc ἀπομάπτειν, sed utrumque promiscue de tota lustratione dicitur*. — *ἀνιστάς*: the candidate seems to have been in a lying or sitting posture during the process of purification. Cf. *Aristoph. Nub.*, 255. — *ἔφυγον, κ. τ. ἐ.*: a formula wh. signified that one had passed into a new life. It was used also in certain nuptial ceremonies.

§ 260. *φθέγγεσθαι μέγα*: *Æsch.* seems to have had good lungs and a fine voice, wh., if we may credit Dem. (cf. §§ 280, 285, 313), he used not without ostentation. — *καλοῦς*: ironical. — *τῷ μαράθῳ καὶ τῇ λέυκῃ*: the

*fennel* plant possessed the property of charming serpents; the *white poplar* was believed to grow in Hades, and served as a symbol of life and death. Harpoer. *Lex.* says that those initiated in the Bacchic mysteries were crowned w. the white poplar, because Dionysus was a θεὸς χθόνιος. — τὸν παρείας, *squeezing the puffy-checked snakes*; so called fr. their large puffy cheeks (παρεία); they were thought to be harmless. Cf. *Etym. Magn.*, 653; Aristoph. *Plut.*, 690. The use of serpents in the Bacchic services is alluded to also by Eurip. *Bacch.*, 697. — εὐοὶ σαβοί, *Euoï Saboï!* a Bacchic exclamation, whose origin grammarians give variously: εὐοὶ fr. εὐ οἱ, εὐ σοί, εὐ οἱ (μύσται), εὐ υἱέ; σαβοί fr. σαβός (= βάκχος) = one who has been initiated into the mystery of Σαβάζιος, the Phrygian βάκχος. — ὕης ἄττης, *Hyes Attes!* ὕης is generally taken as simply an exclamation w. ἄττης, and ἄττης as an equivalent of Σαβάζιος. The name Ἄττης is found in Pausan., VII. 17, § 5. The whole is supposed to be the opening or the refrain of a Bacchic street chorus, that was accompanied by dances and contortions of the body. — ξεαρχος, *leader of the choir, chorister*. — προηγεμὼν, *leader of the procession, marshal*. — κιτοφόρος, *adorned with ivy*; Attic for κισσοφόρος. The ivy was sacred to Dionysus. This is the MSS. reading; but Reiske, Bekk., Taylor, and others follow Harpoer., Suid., Phot., and read κιστοφόρος = *bearer of the chest* (wh. contained the sacred utensils). V. contends that it is improbable that the same person should be both κιστοφόρος and λικνοφόρος if they mean *different* things, and that *both* words should be used if they mean the *same* thing. — ἐνθρυπτα, *sops*; acc. to Photius they were bits of bread sopped in wine and sprinkled over w. pulse. — στρεπτοῦς, *twists* (στρέφω). — νεήλατα were, acc. to Harpoer., *fresh-ground barley-cakes* dipped in honey and studded w. raisins and chick-peas.

§ 261. ὅπωςδῆποτε = *quocumque modo*; implying that it was in a way anything but creditable. Cf. note § 130. The enrolment in the register of citizens was made at the expiration of the 17th year of one's age. — γραμματεῦειν: cf. §§ 162, 209. — τοῖς ἀρχιδίοις, *the petty officials*. — ἀπιγλάγης: by the choice of this word he wishes to imply that it was a *hard and disagreeable* service to wh. Æsch. had been bound. — τῷ...βίῳ, *by your subsequent career*.

§ 262. τοῖς βαρυστόνοις, *nicknamed the groaners*; probably fr. their ridiculous overacting of the pathetic. — Σιμίλφ: Demochares in *Vita Æsch.*, p. 246, mentions the fact that Æsch. wandered w. these strolling players through the land and appeared on "the provincial boards" in the celebration of the rural Dionysia. — ἐπιταγωνίσταις: cf. § 129. — συλλέγων, *gathering from the orchards of others, just as a fruit-huckster*. The country Dionysia occurred at the time of the vintage. Æsch. is represented here, acc. to

one view, as going about the country gathering up fruit, either as a thief or as a beggar; acc. to another view, as picking up fr. the stage the fruit w. wh. the audience pelted him and his associates for their poor acting. If the latter view is correct, it is difficult to see what ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρ. χ. refers to, since it is wholly superfluous w. ὀπωρώνης. — **πλείω λαμβάνων**: the sense is obscure. Most critics understand these words to mean that Æsch. harvest of fruit was greater than his earnings as an actor, τῶν ἀγώνων referring to the *dramatic contests in which you* (the actors) *were engaged at the peril of your life*. By taking ἀγώνων to refer to contests between the spectators and the actors the gloss τραύματα after τούτων, wh. is omitted by Σ alone, crept into the text. Others understand the allusion to be to the blows received by him as a vagrant in the orchards. But Dem. would not say: “you received more blows from this calling than from your acting,” when he states immediately afterward that they acted at the peril of their life. Professor Tyler seems to combine the two interpretations, as if the orator used an intentional ambiguity: “the result was that they got more (both kicks and coffers) in this way, than from acting in the plays.” — **ἄσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος**: in explanation of περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς. The war was *without truce*, i. e. *unceasing*; and *without herald*, i. e. *implacable*. Cf. Xen. *Anab.*, III. 3. 5. — **τραύματ'** alludes to the showers of stones, fruit, and other missiles sent by the audience for his wretched acting. This is more fully described by Dem. in *de F. L.*, § 337: ὅτε μὲν τὰ θεύστου καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίᾳ κακὰ ἠγωνίζετο, ἐξεβάλλετε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξεσυρίττετε ἐκ τῶν θεάτρων καὶ μόνον οὐ κατελεύετε οὕτως ὥστε τελευτῶντα τοῦ τριταγωνιστεῖν ἀποστήναι. — **ὡς δειλοῦς**: with reference to the reproach of cowardice that Æsch. brings repeatedly against him.

§ 263. **ἀλλὰ γὰρ**: cf. § 211 and note. — **πρὸς αὐτὰ...κατηγορήματα**, *I shall proceed to consider step by step the actual charges against your character*. — **ποτε**, *at last*; “continuing the taunt that Æsch. was long excluded fr. political life by his low origin and occupations.” HOLMES. — **λαγῶ βίον ἕξης**, *you led the life of a hare*; a proverbial expression for a life of anxious fear and timidity.

§ 264. **χιλίων...ἀποθανόντων**: Lycurg. *c. Læocr.*, § 142, and Diod., XVI. 88, state that a thousand Athenians fell in the battle of Chæronea, and that two thousand were taken prisoners. — **τῶν ζώντων** contains an implied contrast to ἀποθανόντων. — **ἂν δείξαιμι**: potent. optat.; cf. note on ἂν ἔχοι, § 16. — **εὐχερῶς**, *recklessly*. — **ὄσα...ἔστιν**: how diff. fr. ὄσα ἂν ᾖ? Cf. G M T. 525; H. 914; G. 1430.

§ 265. **τὰ σοὶ κάμολ βεβιωμένα**, lit. *the things lived by you and by me*. Cf. § 130. — **ἔδιδασκες...πατρίδος**: this passage was regarded by the ancient rhetoricians as a model of antithesis. But Demetrius *de Elocut.*, § 250, finds



fault w. the number of balanced sentences ; he thinks the effect of the contrast is weakened by so many antithetic parts, and the entire passage shows more artifice than earnestness. In sharp and severe outline Dem. sums up the career of his rival in its five leading points : (1) as assistant to a pedagogue (§ 258) ; (2) as helper in the initiations (§§ 259, 260) ; (3) as clerk (§ 261) ; (4) as actor (§ 262) ; (5) as statesman (§ 263). Most Editt. have *ἐχόρευες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐχορήγουν* after *ἐτελούμην* ; but this sentence is found neither in Σ, L., nor in the oldest rhetoricians. — *ἐτέλεις...ἐτελούμην* : the antithesis becomes clear when we understand *ἐτέλεις* of the disreputable Sabazian mysteries and *ἐτελούμην* of the sacred Eleusinian mysteries. Kenn. quotes fr. Milton's *Apology for Smectymnuus* the following imitation : "Speaking of the young divines and students at college, whom he had so often seen upon the stage acting before courtiers and court ladies, he (Milton) proceeds thus : 'There while they acted and overacted, among other young scholars I was a spectator ; they thought themselves gallant men, and I thought them fools ; they made sport, and I laughed ; they mispronounced, and I mimicked ; and, to make up the Atticism, they were out, and I hissed.' "

§ 266. *τὸ δὲ...ἀνωμολόγημαι*, and it has been admitted that I have done no wrong whatever. *τὸ ἀδικεῖν* is the accus. retained w. the pass. constr. — *συκοφάντη* : for the constr. cf. note on *τοιούτοις*, § 128. — *κινδυνεύεις, κ. τ. ἐ.*, and you are in danger either of being obliged to continue to do this (i. e. act the part of slanderer, since Æsch. to be consistent must play his rôle to the end, must not stop, therefore, with gaining this suit) or of being forthwith silenced, by losing this suit. Thus, the orator means to say, Æsch. must be in either case the loser. — *τὸ πέμπτον* : cf. note § 103. — *ἀγαθῇ γε* : notice the ironical force of *γε*. — *οὐχ ὀρᾶς* : cf. § 232. — *τῆς ἐμῆς* : the comm. reading adds *ὡς φαύλης*, wh., as Voem. justly remarks, weakens the force of the sentence, for no one *τύχης κατηγορεῖ ὡς ἀγαθῆς*.

§ 267. *τῶν λειτουργιῶν* : such as are enumerated in § 257. — *ἀναγνῶ*, let me read, although below he says *λέγε* ; but it is well known that what one orders another to do, he may be said to do himself. — *μοι* = *I pray thee* : the ethical dat. Cf. note § 178. — *ἐλυμαίνου*, used to murder. Cf. § 180. We speak of *murdering* the king's English. — *ἦκω...πύλας* : the beginning of the Hecuba of Euripides. *πύλας* is governed by *λιπών* in the next verse, wh. reads : *λιπών, ἦν Ἄιδης χωρὶς ᾤκισται θεῶν*. Æsch. had personated in this play the shade of Polydorus as *tritagônist*. — *κακαγγελεῖν* is an *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον*. This iambic verse is from an unknown tragedy. — *κακὸν κακῶς* : an instance of *paronomasia* ; cf. § 11, and the Latin *malos male perdere*.

§ 268. *τοιούτος*, sc. *ἦν ἐγώ*. — *κοινός*, sc. *εἰμί*, I am public-spirited. A similar omission of the first pers. of this verb occurs in Dem. *Lept.*, § 55,

where *ἔσμεν* is to be supplied. — *ἑλυσάμην*: Dem., acc. to *de F. L.*, § 169 ff., *ransomed* a number of Athenians who had been taken prisoners in the Olynthian war. — *συνεξέδωκα*, *joined with any* (sc. the poorer of the citizens) *in portioning their daughters*. Every bride must bring her husband a marriage dower; the poor obtained it by the generous contributions of their richer friends. — *οὔτε...οὔδέν*, join w. *ἂν εἴποιμι*. In this category might be placed contributions to defray burial expenses, and to buy military outfits for the poor.

§ 269. *ἐγὼ...τῷ ὀνειδίξαι*: the same just sentiment is given by Cic. *de Amicit.*, XX. 71, as follows: “*Odiosum sane genus hominum officia exprobrantium, quæ meminisse debet in quem collata sunt, non commemorare qui contulit.*” — *ποιήσαντα*, sc. *εἶ*, wh. is found in most MSS. — *τὸν μὲν* means *τὸν εἶ παθόντα*; *τὸν δὲ* refers to *τὸν ποιήσαντα*. — *μικροῦ...ὀνειδίξαι*, *is almost like reproaching one*. — *προαχθήσομαι*, sc. *ποιεῖν*. — *ὅπως ποθ’*, κ. τ. ἐ., *but in whatever way I have been regarded as respects these things, I am content*.

§§ 270, 271. *ἀπαλλαγίς*, *having escaped from*; as if from some unpleasant thing. Cf. *ἀπῆλλάγης*, § 261. — *ὑπὸ τούτων τὸν ἥλιον*, i. e. the world of the Greeks. — *ἀθῶος*, *unscathed by*. — *νῦν*, i. e. in the year 331–330 B. C. Cf. note § 253. — *τὴν ἔμην...βούλει*: a similar turn of expression is found in § 20. — *πάντων αἰτίαν*: *αἰτίαν* is not found in Σ, and is, therefore, rejected by V. and W. But this word seems necessary to the sense. Dem. is refuting the notion, so persistently declared by his rival, that his personal fortune was answerable for the misfortunes of the country, and his argument runs thus: you cannot name any one who has not been injured by Philip or Alexander; but among those who have been thus injured there are many who have never seen me nor heard my voice. Can I be the cause of their misfortunes? How much more just, then, is it to say that our misfortunes and theirs are attributable to a common cause (sc. *τὴν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων τύχην καὶ φορὰν τινα πραγμάτων χαλεπὴν*), than to call my fortune *the cause of all*, i. e. of all the evil that has come upon the Greeks and Barbarians. Voem. and West. render: *I concede that my fortune, whether you please to call it good or ill, has become the fortune of all (men)*. But how that follows fr. the supposition *εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἔχεις*, κ. τ. ἐ., I do not see. — *φορὰν τινα...οὐχ οἶαν ἔδει*, *a certain irresistible and deplorable tide of troubles*. Some take *φορὰν* here in the sense of *crop* or *harvest*, as in § 61.

§ 272. *παρὰ τουτοισί*, *among these*; i. e. my fellow-citizens, as distinguished fr. *πολλοὶ τῶν μηδεπώποτ’ ἰδόντων*, κ. τ. ἐ., above. — *καὶ εἰ μὴ*, *even if not*. — *αὐτοκράτωρ*, e. g. like Philip. Cf. § 235.

§ 273. *ἀεὶ...προϊτίθει σκοπεῖν*, *and at all times the city proffered the opportunity in common* (sc. to all) *to consider her advantage*, — *πάσι...βέλτιον*:

this taunt is not fair. Æsch. and his party were outvoted and had to submit to what they could not prevent; their approbation they did not give. — ταῦτ' : the measures proposed by Dem. — οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ, κ. τ. ἐ., for it was not out of good-will, certainly, that you relinquished to me, etc.; i. e. you did not give up these in order that I might have them. — ἐλπιδῶν, hopes, prospects of reward. — ἠττώμενος, because you were compelled. — λέγειν βελτίω : cf. εἰπεῖν βέλτιον above. This change of tense and number gives variety. Which of these forms of expression has more reference to the nature and contents of the action? — νῦν ἐγκαλῶν...τότ' οὐκ εἶχες : how and where has the orator made this point before? Cf. §§ 188, 196, 217. It is the characteristic of a good orator to impress an important point by frequent yet ever-varying repetition.

§ 274. ἐγώγ', I for my part see; however oblivious of these principles my opponent may be. — πως τὰ τοιαῦτα, such principles as these somehow defined and laid down. — ἀδικεῖ τις ἐκόν : former examples of this hypothetical form of statement are found in §§ 117, 198. — ὄργην καὶ τιμωρίαν...συγγνώμην, sc. διωρισμένας ὀρῶ. — οὐτ' ἀδικῶν τις, κ. τ. ἐ. : transl. in this order : τις...δοῦς...οὐ κατώρθωσε...οὐτ'...οὐτ'. The partic. ἀδικῶν, ἐξαμαρτάνων are placed at the beginning so as to connect this third category more closely w. the two preceding. — οὐ κατώρθωσε, failed in common with all. On the distinction between ἀτυχήματα, ἀμαρτήματα, ἀδικήματα, cf. Aristot. Rhet., I. 13. — τῷ τοιοῦτῳ : the addition of the art. makes the reference more specific = such an one as this.

§ 275. τοῖς νόμοις, from the laws. The distinction between νόμοι and νόμμοι may be stated thus : νόμος = a positive, definite law or ordinance, generally written; νόμμος = a principle or rule that is founded upon custom or upon the moral sense of every human being. Cf. Soph. Antig., 451 : οἱ τοὺς ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ὤρισαν νόμους. οὐδὲ σθένειν τοσοῦτον φόμην τὰ σὰ κηρύγματα ὡς τὰ ἀγραπτα καὶ ἀσφαλῆ θεῶν νόμμοι. Cf. also Plato Legg., VII., p. 793; Dem. c. Aristocr., § 70. — ἦθεσι : cf. note § 114. — ἀτυχημάτων : misfortunes he imputes to me as crimes.

§ 276. ὅπως μὴ παρακρούσομαι : for the mode cf. G M T. 370; H. 887 a; G. 1379; Cu. § 533, Obs. — δεινόν, skilful as a speaker, hence eloquent. So δεινότητα below = eloquence. Æsch. had named Dem. κακοῦργον σοφιστήν· τὸν γήγητα καὶ βαλαντιστόμον καὶ διατετμηκίτα τὴν πολιτείαν· δευὸς δημιουργὸς λόγων. — ὡς ἐὰν...οὕτως ἔχοντα, as though when, etc.,...then these statements must also be true. For the constr. cf. § 122.

§ 277. τὴν...δεινότητα : another instance of aposiopesis; cf. §§ 3, 22. The thought thus interrupted is resumed w. the words εἰ δ' οὖν...ἐμπειρία τοιαύτη. — ἔστω γάρ, nay, be it so. Let it pass that I am an orator; this imputation is, after all, a kind of proof that I am in sympathy w. the

public ; ὡς γὰρ...ἀποδέξῃσθε, κ. τ. ἐ. — τὸ πλείστον, for the most part, generally. Some MSS. insert μέρος. — ὡς γὰρ...ἀποδέξῃσθε, for, according as you may receive and feel kindly towards each. For the subj. w. ἄν cf. G M T. 532 ; H. 914 B ; G. 1431 ; Cu. § 554. — ἔδοξε : why the aor. ? Cf. G M T. 533 ; H. 840 ; G. 1394 ; Cu. § 494. This sentiment, that the audience controls the speaker, not the speaker the audience, is stated negatively in the *de F. L.*, § 340 : "Other powers are tolerably independent, but that of speaking is reduced to nothing when you who hear are opposed." The same important truth has been dwelt upon by all rhetoricians fr. Aristotle to Whately.— παρ' ἔμοι : cf. § 110 : παρ' ἐκάστῳ τὸ συνειδὸς ὑπάρχει μοι. — οὐδ' ἰδίᾳ, not even for my personal interest. — τοῦναντίον, sc. εὐρήσετε ἐξεταζομένην. — τούτων : to be referred back to the collective τις, as in § 99.

§ 278. εἰσεληλυθότας, sc. τὰ δικαστήρια. — ἀξιούν αὐτῷ βεβαιοῦν, to require to secure to himself ; i. e. by condemning his opponent. — εἰσιέναι, nor ought he to come before you, as a prosecutor. — πράως...ἔχεν, to have them (i. e. these feelings) mildly and moderately disposed. — τὸν πολυτευόμενον...τὸν ῥήτορα : the former is one that takes an active part in public affairs, the latter more distinctively a speaker and advocate in the public assemblies. For the repetition of the art. (τὸν) cf. note § 212. — ἐν οἷς...τῷ δήμῳ, et in quibus populo res est cum adversariis. The full expression in Greek would be ἐν τούτοις ἂ πρὸς, κ. τ. ἐ. Cf. πρὸς ὃν ἦν ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγών, § 235 ; Isocr. *Panegy.*, § 12 : ἐμοὶ δ' οὐδὲν πρὸς τοιούτους...ἔστιν.

§ 279. μηδενὸς δὲ ἀδικήματος...δίκην : here Dem. briefly reiterates the points more fully treated in §§ 12–16. — ἦκειν : subj. of ἐστὶ σημεῖον. The art. (τὸ) is used w. this infin. below. — συνεσκευασμένον, having concocted. — οὐδενὸς : neuter. — ἐμὲ αὐτόν, more emphatic than ἐμαυτόν, me myself. — ἐπὶ τόνδ', i. e. Ctesiphon. — καὶ πᾶσαν ἔχει κακίαν, involves even the sum of all baseness. Most MSS. omit καὶ, and then νῦν...κακίαν forms a pentameter.

§ 280. λόγων...τιμωρίαν : for the same topic cf. § 226. — φωνασκίας : Æsch. practice in elocution and his fine voice are derided also in § 308. And in *de F. L.*, § 336, Dem. says : ἐπαρεῖ τὴν φωνὴν καὶ πεφωνασκηκῶς ἔσται. All this is by way of retort upon Æsch., who in *de F. L.*, § 157, speaks of Dem. voice as ὀξείαν καὶ ἀνόσιον. Yet how much pains Dem. took to cultivate his voice and delivery, Quintilian mentions, *Orat. Instil.*, XI., Chap. III., §§ 53, 130. — βουλόμενος : as indicating the motive. — τίμιον, the thing to be valued. — τόνος (τείνω), the pitch of the voice. Cf. ἐπάρας τὴν φωνὴν, § 291. — ἂν ἢ πατρίς, sc. μισῆ καὶ φιλή.

§ 281. ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ, based upon good-will. — ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς, sc. ἀγκύρας, he is not moored by the same anchor as the multitude. A common metaphor. So ἐπὶ δυοῖν ὁρμῶν = to have separate interests. — οὐκουν, κ. τ. ἐ. : completes



the thought of the metaphor. — **ἐξάιρετον...ἴδιον**, *nothing separate* (from the public) *nor personal* (as opposed to public interests).

§ 282. **εἰθίως...ἐπορεύου** : immediately after the battle of Chæronea an embassy went fr. Athens to Philip, to treat for the release of the prisoners of war. At the head of this embassy was Demades (cf. § 285). His associates were Æsch. and Phocion. Cf. Grote, Chap. XC.; Plut. *Phoc.*, 16. — **ὅς** refers to Philip. — **πάντα χρόνον** : taken literally, this is an exaggeration, since Æsch. went on two embassies concerning the peace of Philocrates; he is to be understood, therefore (and doubtless he was so understood by his audience), as meaning *all the former time* since 346 B. C. — **ταύτην τὴν χρέϊαν**, *although he refused this service* (i. e. of going on an embassy to Philip). — **καταρᾶται** : at the opening of each Assembly it was customary for the crier or herald to imprecate curses on the enemies of the state, and more particularly on those who plotted to overthrow the democracy and were bribed to betray their country into the hands of foreign foes. Cf. Schöm. *de Comit. Athen.*, p. 92. Cf. § 130. — **οὔπος** = *τοιούτος*, wh. is the reading of many MSS.

§ 283. **οὐ μεμνήσθαι** : why not *μή*? Cf. G M T. 594; H. 1024; G. 1451 last part; Cu. § 617, Obs. 1, 2. — **ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ** : in contrast with *μετὰ τὴν μάχην*, § 282. — **τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην**, *this charge*, sc. of holding friendly relations with Philip.

§ 284. **προσεποιοῦ...ὀνόματα** : cf. §§ 51, 52. “The repetitions, the enforcement again and again of the same point, are a distinguishing feature of Demosth., and formed also one of the characteristics of Mr. Fox’s great eloquence.” Lord. B. — **τυμπανιστρίας** : the ceremonies described in § 259 were accompanied with the beating of drums and cymbals. — **ξένος...φίλος...γνώριμος** : the thought is presented in the form of a climax, as each of these terms expresses less than the one next preceding : *guest-friend, friend, acquaintance*. — **εἰλημμένος...γεγονὼς**, *although you yourself have been thus openly apprehended as a traitor, and although you have become, etc.* — **ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβᾶσι** : cf. note § 197. — **μᾶλλον**, sc. *ἢ ἐμέ*, as is easily understood fr. the connection. Many MSS. add these words; an addition that, coming after so many long syllables, would mar the rhythm of the sentence.

§ 285. **Πολλὰ...ἡμνημόνησεν** : the connection between this sentence and what immediately precedes is so loose, as to lead Dobræus to strike out this and to connect *σημεῖον δέ* directly w. the last sentence of § 284, making the sense : *σημεῖον δέ τοῦ μὴ ἐμέ τῶν κακῶν αἰτίον εἶναι*. But the connection as it stands, though not very close, seems clear enough : “I was not the author of the evil he charges upon me, but of much good; and here is the proof that the people so regarded me.” — **χειροτονῶν...ἑρούνην** : the custom of pronouncing eulogies upon those who fell in battle was a later addition to the public funeral rites with wh. they were honored (cf. Thuc., II. 35),

dating probably fr. the close of the Persian wars. Cf. Diod., XI. 33. Specimens of such funeral orations are the famous one of Pericles, given by Thuc., II. 35–46; that found in Plato's *Menexenus*; the *ἐπιτάφιος τοῖς Κομυθίων βοθηοῖς*, attributed to Lysias; and an *ἐπιτάφιος*, attributed to Dem. The choice of an orator was made by the people, the Senate having only the right to *nominate* (*προβληθέντα*). — **Δημάδη**ν : an orator of consummate ability, regarded by some as a match for Dem. himself (cf. Quint., *Instit. Orat.*, II. Chap. 17, §§ 12, 13; Plut. *Dem.*, 8, 10). He was also a man without principle and a notorious partisan of Philip, described by Plut. *Phoc.*, I., as *νανάγιον τῆς πόλεως*. As prisoner of war at the battle of Chæronea he secured the favor of Philip, and became the agent of the peace (*ἄρτι πεποικκότα τὴν εἰρήνην*) that bears his name. Cf. Diod., XVI. 87. — **Ἡγήμονα** : a member of the Macedonian party and a self-educated orator. Æsch. c. *Ctes.*, § 25, mentions him as the author of a law w. reference to the Theoric fund enacted soon after the battle of Chæronea. Hegemon and Pythocles were put to death together w. Phocion, five years after the death of Alexander the Great. — **Πυθοκλέους** : at first a friend of Dem., he became later the hireling of Philip. Cf. *de F. L.*, §§ 225, 314. — **ἐτ' ἄμεινον**, *etiam luculentius et studiosius* Diss.

§ 286. **αὐτοί**, i. e. ὁ δῆμος (§ 285). — **ἀ...ταῦτ'** : a common inversion of the order of relat. and antec. clause. — **ὠμολογήσατε**, *this you acknowledged in the misfortunes of the state*; referring to their sympathy and friendship w. Philip, as at the beginning of § 284. — **οὖν**, *accordingly*; as the natural inference fr. such conduct. — **ὣν ἐφρόνουν...ἄδειαν**, *they (the people) had the opinion that those who found in the public disasters security for the free utterance of their sentiments* (lit. *freedom from fear on account of what they thought*, or, as some think, *on account of what they purposed*) *had been their enemies long ago, but at that moment had become such manifestly*.

§ 287. **εἶτα καὶ προσήκειν**, *in the next place to be fitting also*. — **ὑπολαμβάνοντες...τοῦτο δ' ἐάρων** : an *anacoluthon*, δέ being used as if a verb st. partic. preceded. So in Xen. *Anab.*, VI. 6. 16 : *χαλεπόν, εἰ οἴμενοι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ ἐπαίνου καὶ τιμῆς τεύξεσθαι, ἀγρὶ δὲ τούτων οὐδ' ὅμοιοι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐσόμεθα*. Inferior MSS. change into *ὑπελάμβανον*. — **ὁμωρόφιον...ὁμόσπονδον** : deriv. ? *Should not have sat under the same roof or at the same table with*. Kenn. Pabst renders by *Haus- und Tischgenosse*. — **ἐκεῖ** : at the court of Philip. — **κωμάζειν καὶ παιωνίζειν** : Dem. *de F. L.*, § 128, says : *οὗτος (sc. Αἰσχίνης) εἰς τὰ πινίκια τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τοῦ πολέμου, ἃ Θηβαῖοι καὶ Φίλιππος ἔθνον, εἰσιτῆτο ἐλθὼν καὶ σπονδῶν μετείχε καὶ εὐχῶν, ἃς ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν συμμάχων τῶν ὑμετέρων τεύχεσι καὶ χώρᾳ καὶ ὄπλοις ἀπολωλόσιν εὐχετο ἐκείνος, καὶ συνεστεφανοῦτο καὶ συνεπαιώνιζε Φιλίππῳ καὶ φιλοτησίας προῦπινεν*. Theopompus, as cited by Athenæus, X. 435, states that after

the battle of Chæronea Philip invited the Athenian envoys to dine with him. Cf. note § 282. — τῇ φωνῇ δακρύνει : the idea is that he assumed a *pathetic tone*. — ὑποκρινομένους, *acting a part*. Cf. § 15. The plur. is used so as to include in the allusion Demades, Hegemon, and Pythocles, besides Æsch. ὑμῖν, ὑμᾶς below have the same reference.

§ 288. οἱ...αἰρεθέντες : an attributive clause, hence the repetition of the article. — ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς : an abridged expression = ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ταφῶν παρασκευήν ; so § 312, εἰς τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν = εἰς τὴν τῆς ἐπιτιμίας ἀνάληψιν. The relatives of the deceased formed a sort of committee of arrangement for the funeral ceremonies, the closing act of wh. was the περιδειπνον or νεκρόδειπνον. Cf. Dict. Antiq. sub Funus. — ἄλλως πως : supply a verb like ἐποίησαν, as w. οὕτως above. — ὡς παρ' οἰκειοτάτῳ : cf. § 246. — ὥσπερ πάντ' εἴωθε, i. e. to make the funeral feast at the house of the nearest relative. Cf. Lucian *de Luctu.*, C. 24. — κοινῇ : as opposed to γένει. The sense is this : the statesman who labors for the welfare of all the citizens stands more nearly related to all than any other individual citizen ; each individual mourns over his own kin, but *his* grief is for all alike. — φ...διέφερον : διαφέρειν is used here like the Latin *interesse* w. the dative. — ἃ μὴ ποτ' ἄφελον, sc. παθεῖν : what kind of a wish ? Cf. G M T. 734 ; H. 871 a ; G. 1512, 1513 ; Cu. § 515.

§ 289. ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ : the monument erected over the ashes of those who fell at Chæronea is mentioned by Pausanias, I. 29. 13, as situated in the outer Cerameicus, on the road to the Academy. Such monuments bore inscriptions (ἐπιγράμματα) wh. contained, besides the names of those buried, some poetic commemoration of their bravery and patriotism. The inscription before us is of unknown origin, is not found in Σ and several other MSS., contains many irregularities of diction, and is altogether so unsatisfactory, that almost all critics believe it to be of later composition. — εἰς δῆριν ἔθεντο ὄπλα, *put their arms into the conflict* ; an unusual expression ; θέσθαι ὄπλα = generally *to stack arms, to lay down arms*. — ἀπεσκέδασαν : a poetical exaggeration as regards the result of the battle. So Lycurg. *c. Leocr.*, § 49, says : εἰ δὲ δεῖ παράδοξον μὲν εἰπεῖν, ἀληθὲς δέ, νικῶντες ἀπέθανον. — μαρνάμενοι δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ δείματος : so read the MSS. Voemel, in an Excursus, gives at least 15 different interpretations of this distich, of wh. the more important may be stated under these four heads : (1) Many recent Editt. accept Valekenaar's conjecture of λήματος for δείματος, and join both genitives w. μαρν. as genit. cause or price : *contending with bravery and courage* ; or, retaining δείματος, understand it w. the Schol. as = φόβου οὗ εἶχον ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ; or change the reading to ἀρετῆ δίχα δείματος = *virtute intrepida* ; or read ἀρετῆς κατὰ δείματος = *virtute contra communem terrorem*. (2) Join ἀρετῆς καὶ λήματος w. ἐσάωσαν = *they did not preserve*



*their lives as the price of bravery and courage*; or read *διὰ δειγματος* = *they did not, etc., through a display of bravery*. (3) Take *ἀρετῆς καὶ λήματος* as an exclamation = *O valor and courage!* or change to *ἀρετῆς ὦ δειγματος* = *O display of valor!* (4) Join *ἀρετῆς καὶ δειγματος* w. *βραβῆ*, the negat. clause *οὐκ...ψυχάς* being parenthetic and requiring the *ἀλλὰ* following. The regular order would be: *μαρμ. δ' (οὐκ ἐσάωσαν ψυχάς, ἀλλ') ἀρετῆς καὶ δειγματος...βραβῆ*. A similar transposition in the order (called *Hyperbaton*) is found in Xen. *Hell.*, VII. 3. 7: *ὑμεῖς τοὺς περὶ Ἀρχίαν καὶ Ἰπάτην (οὐ ψῆφον ἀνεμείνατε, ἀλλὰ) ὅποτε πρῶτον ἐδινάσθητε ἐτιμωρήσασθε*. Acc. to this view the sense is: *these by their death proved what they were, whether brave men or cowards; brave men, of course, for they all chose Hades as their common arbiter*. V. cites Lycurg. c. *Leocr.*, § 49, in support of this interpretation. — *οὐνεκεν Ἑλλήνων* must be taken closely w. the idea of *ἀπέθανον* that is contained in *οὐκ ἐσάωσαν ψυχάς*. — *ζυγὸν αὐχένι θέντες*: this is properly said of victors who impose the yoke upon the vanquished. Diss. renders it by *se subjicientes*. The idea would be more properly expressed by *ὑπὸ ζυγὸν αὐχένα θέντες*. — *σώματα* = *the bones*, for the bodies were burned upon the field of battle. — *ἦδε κρίσις*: referring to what follows. — *μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν...ἔπορευ*: this distich has been variously understood. The two main interpretations are given: (1) The transl. acc. to the punctuation here adopted, wh. is that of Bekk., is: *to fail in nothing is of the gods, and to succeed in all things in life; but from destiny no escape is allotted*. The sense of the entire passage then is this: *these sacrificed their lives for the freedom of their country; in that they lost their lives they met their μοῖρα, fr. wh. there is no escape anyway; in that they failed of success they were not at fault, for success (πάντα κατορθοῦν, wh. is the positive side of μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν) is the gift of the gods. θεῶν is possess. genit., it belongs to the gods, hence is theirs to bestow*. So Æschyl. *Septem.*, 625: *θεοῦ δὲ δῶρόν ἐστιν εὐτυχεῖν βροτούς*. Notice how well this interpretation harmonizes w. the sentiment: *τὸ μὲν γὰρ πέρασ, κ. τ. ἐ., §§ 192, 193*. It also agrees, as we shall see, w. the application Dem. makes in § 290. (2) But Z., W., Dind., not to mention many more, punctuate after *κατορθοῦν*, join *ἐν βιοτῇ* w. what follows, and read thus: *to fail in nothing and to succeed in all things is the prerogative of the gods; but in mortal life (i. e. to mortals) it is decreed in no wise to escape destiny*. Here the condition of the gods and of men is contrasted, and we should expect some such application as this: it must, therefore, occasion no surprise, if *we mortals* fail in our undertakings. But how different is the application wh. the orator makes below in *οὐ τῷ συμβούλῳ, κ. τ. ἐ.,* we shall presently see. To the many metrical translations already published of this epitaph, all of which follow in the last distich the *second* interpretation just given, I venture to add the following: —



*These for their country rushed into the fray,  
And bravely kept the boastful foe at bay ;  
Spared not their lives, but prizing honor's name,  
Chose Hades judge of glory or of shame ;  
For Hellas' sake, that far removed might be  
Forevermore the curse of slavery.  
And now guards well their sleep the fatherland,  
Since this decree from Zeus shall ever stand :  
'T is of the gods when all life's plans succeed,  
But no escape from fate to mortals is decreed.*

§ 290. ὡς τὸ μηδὲν, κ. τ. ἐ., you hear, also in this very thing (epitaph), that the statement...attributes not to the statesman but to the gods the power of making those who contend successful. How the second interpretation of the last distich, the gods alone are successful, can be made to harmonize w. this application, it is difficult to see. — πάντα κατορθοῦν : most Editt. place a colon after the words, and thus make a harsh asyndeton in οὐ τῶ συμβούλῳ, κ. τ. ἐ. — τρέψειαν : a true optative. Cf. G M T. 721. I. ; H. 870 ; G. 1507 ; Cu. § 514.

V. §§ 291 - 323. CONCLUSION. (a) §§ 291 - 293. THE FEELINGS EXHIBITED BY ÆSCHINES ON ACCOUNT OF THE CALAMITIES OF HIS COUNTRY. ὡς ἄν, sc. ἔχοι : a similar ellipsis occurs w. ὅπερ δ' ἄν, § 197 ; ὥσπερ ἄν τρυάνη, § 298. — λαρυγγίζων, lit. straining his larynx, i. e. vociferating. — τοῖς...ἀνιανοῖς, in the distressful events that occurred. Cf. δυσμενῶν τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, § 217.

§ 292. τῆς πολιτείας, the constitution. — οὔτος, sc. φάσκει. Æsch. professed in his speech great solicitude for the preservation of the ancient laws. — καὶ εἰ : cf. note § 272. — τετάχθαι, to range himself. — πράγματα, troubles. Dem. purposely uses a mild term ; but Æsch., § 57, more strongly says : τῶν δὲ ἀτυχημάτων ἀπάντων Δημοσθένην αἰτιον γεγεννημένον. — ἀπὸ : denotes the point of departure ; not before but only from the adoption of my policy.

§ 293. πραττομένη : Schaef. remarks that the departure fr. the regular order, τῇ πρ. ἀρχῇ, throws the emphasis upon ἀρχῇ. Similar are τὰς...βλασφημίας εἰρημένας, § 126 ; τὴν...ῥώμην...ὑπάρχουσαν, § 98. On the contrary, the regular attributive position of the partic. is found in τῶν εἰργασμένων.. κακῶν, § 142, where the emphasis falls on εἰργασμένων. — τοῖς ἄλλοις means the rest of the statesmen who may have received public rewards. — εὐ οἷδ' ὅτι : cf. note § 171. — ἔβλαπτε : this he did by asserting that any single individual could make any such arrogant claim.

(b) §§ 294 - 296. ÆSCHINES IS CONSPICUOUS AMONG TRAITORS. τί...

ἐπιτιμῶ, *But why do I rebuke him for this, when, etc.* — φιλιππισμόν : Lord B. compares “*Jacobinism.*” Cf. § 176. The orator has probably in mind the passage fr. Æsch. cited on p. 100. — ἐπ’ ἀληθείας : cf. note § 17. — ἀνελόνας ἐκ μέσου, *taking out of the midst, i. e. leaving out of view.* The partic. is purposely left indefinite, agreeing w. the implied subject of σκοπεῖσθαι. Below he becomes more specific by the use of εὔροίτ’. — ὡς ἀληθῶς, *really.* Cf. ὡς ἑτέρως, § 85. This ὡς is the same as that used w. expressions of comparison and the superlative, but is usually not translated before adverbs.

§ 295. τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας πολίτας, *cives suæ factionis.* Schaef. Cf. note § 174. The historian Polybius, Vol. XVII. 14, criticises the unfairness of Dem. for including in the category of traitors all those public men who did not sympathize w. his policy of resistance to Philip; and he defends the persons here named on the ground that they availed themselves of the aid of Philip only for the benefit of their respective countries, not for their own aggrandizement. Most of these names are mentioned by Harpocration and Athenæus, who quote fr. the lost history of Theopompus, and in Plutarch’s *Lives of Dem., Alex., Phocion and Timoleon.* Cicero has imitated this passage in his oration against Verres.

§ 296. μαροί, κ. τ. ἐ. : Kenn. renders these epithets by *profligates, parasites, miscreants.* — ἡκρωτηριασμένοι...προπεπωκότες...μετροῦντες : Longinus praises the cumulative force of these metaphors. ἡκρ. = *having crippled.* Lord B. translates προπ., *having toasted away.* προπίνειν = *to drink to something*; e. g. Φιλίππῳ φιλοτησίας προπίνειν, *de F. L., § 128.* But fr. the custom of bestowing the drinking-cup as a gift upon the person whose health was pledged (cf. *de F. L., § 139*; *Xen. Cyr., VIII. 3. 35*), this word came to signify *to give up recklessly.* So in *Olynth., III., § 22* : προπέποιται τῆς παραντικά χάριτος τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα. — τὸ μηδένα...αὐτῶν = *independence.* — ἦσαν : the plural by the attraction of the predicate nouns. — ἀνατετραφότες : a later form, the correctness of wh. is disputed by some who prefer ἀνατετροφότες.

(c) §§ 297–305. RECAPITULATION OF HIS OWN MERITS AND SERVICES, AS CONTRASTED WITH THE CONDUCT OF THESE TRAITORS. συστάσεως...κακίας...προδοσίας depend on ἀναίτιος. — εἰ δεῖ μὴ ληρεῖν, *if one ought not to trifle*; i. e. *if one ought in all earnestness to call things by their right names.* — διαφθαρέντων : gen. absol. — ἀρξαμένων ἀπὸ σοῦ, lit. *beginning from you*, i. e. *with you at the head.*

§ 298. ἐμὲ : the emphatic position at the head of the sentence should not escape notice. — φιλανθρωπία λόγων, *blanda verba.* Diss. — ὁμοίως ὑμῖν : Dem. compares his opponents to the tongue of a balance, wh. readily turns to the side of the scale in wh. personal interests are laid as outweighing the interests of the state. — ὡσπερ ἄν : cf. ὡς ἄν, § 291. Dem. employs the

same figure in his *Orat. de Pace*, § 12. — *καὶ...τῶν ἀνθρώπων προστάς*, and standing at the head of the very weightiest interests of the men of my time, or, of weightier interests than any of my contemporaries. *τῶν ἀνθρώπων* is *partit. genit. w. the attributive superlative*, though the *genit.* belongs in idea to the *subj.* of the verb *πεπολίτευμαι*. Similar are *ἀπάντων ἐνδοξότατα*, § 65; *ᾧν...κράτιστα*, § 320. — *διὰ ταῦτ'*: this claim is as just as it is eloquent. The honesty of Dem. stands unquestioned, in spite of the aspersions of his enemies.

§ 299. *δν...διέσυρες*: for the language of Æsch. see the citation on pp. 125, 126. — *μον*: for this *genit.* note § 28. — *πόρρω μέντοι, κ. τ. ἐ.*, but, of course, I place these far below my political measures. — *οὐ λίθοις, κ. τ. ἐ.*: to bring out the rhetorical emphasis, follow the Greek order in translating. — *οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτοις...φρονῶ*, nor of my transactions do I pride myself most upon these. — *πόλεις...τόπους...λιμένας*: in §§ 230, 237, Dem. enumerates these allied states, friendly territories and harbors. — *πολλοὺς* is bracketed by some Editt. as an interpolation, and placed by others just before *τοὺς ὑπέρ*. With V. we may take it as belonging to both *ἵππους* and *τοὺς...ἀμυνομένους* (= *ξένους*), since, in § 237, Dem. speaks of a large accession gained by himself of both *cavalry* and *mercenary troops*. — *τούτων*, the Athenians. — *τοὺς...ἀμυνομένους*: taken substantively. With the sentiment of this passage may be compared the apothegm of Lycurgus found in *Plut. Lycurg.*, I. 9: *οὐκ ἂν εἴη ἀτείχιστος πόλις ἦτις ἀνδράσι καὶ οὐ πλίνθοις ἐστεφάνωται*. Wh. cites in illustration the well-known ode of Sir W. Jones, commencing: "What constitutes a state?"

§ 300. *πρὸ*, in front of, as a defence. — *Πειραιῶς...τοῦ ἄστεως*: these were enclosed by ramparts and fortifications of stone and wood, as contrasted w. *τὴν χώραν*, wh. was not protected in this way. *ἄστεως* is the usual Attic for *ἄστεος*. — *τοῖς λογισμοῖς*, in tactics; *dat. of respect*. Notice the emphasis of *ἐγὼ* as contrasted w. *Φιλίππου*. — *τῇ τύχῃ*: and yet, acc. to *Diod.*, XVI. 88, the Athenians, after the battle of Chæronea, condemned *Lysicles*, their own general, to death, οὐ the accusation of *Lycurgus*.

§ 301. *οὐκ...προβαλέσθαι*: the orator, having spoken of the general aim of his measures, now proceeds to particulars. The topics here presented have been treated before in §§ 230, 240, 241. — *ἐκ θαλάττης*: cf. note § 230. — *τοὺς ὁμόρους*, sc. *Megara*, *Corinth*, *Achaia*. — *τὴν σιτοπομπίαν*: cf. note § 87. For a similar anticipation in the construction cf. *Dem. c. Cimon*, § 17: *τὰς ἀναγκαίας προφάσεις ὅπως μὴ μείζους γίνωνται προείδοντο*. — *παρὰ πᾶσαν φιλίαν*, sc. *χώραν*, along a territory throughout friendly.

§ 302. *τὰ μὲν...τὰ δ'*, some...others. — *ὑπαρχόντων*, and to preserve some of those belonging to our side; cf. note on *ὑπάρχοντας*, § 295. — *τοιαῦτα*, such things, i. e. as would preserve these allies. — *Προκόννησον*: this island

was in alliance w. Athens in 362, when it applied to the Athenians for aid against Cyzicus. — **Χερρόνησον** : cf. § 80. — **Τένεδον** : this island was important as commanding the entrance to the Hellespont. — **τὰ δ'** : obj. of *πράξει* and subj. of *ὑπάρξει*; in apposition w. it are the names following. — **Βυζάντιον** : cf. § 87. — **Ἄβυδον** : Abydos was, acc. to Dem. *c. Aristocr.*, § 158, in constant enmity w. Athens. — **Εὐβοίαν** : the genuineness of this word has been suspected, because Eubœa has just before been mentioned as a part of the Attic fortifications. Here, however, Dem. is speaking of alliance. Cf. § 79; A. Schæf., II. 396 ff., 457 ff. — **ὧν δ' ἐνέλειπε** = **ἃ οὐχ ὑπῆρχε**. Diss. The verb is impersonal.

§ 303. **καί...καί**, both...and. "The *καί* emphasizes the connection of *plan* and *execution*, for both of which the orator claims equal approval." HOLMES. — **παρεθέντα** : Dem. disclaims any crime of *negligence*, of *ignorance*, of *treachery*. — **ἐλυμαίνετο...ἀνέτρεψαν** : the injury is represented as repeated or continued, the final act of destruction as momentary. The plural in *ἀνέτρεψαν* represents the various agencies named as operating *individually*, as well as *collectively*.

§ 304. **μόνον**, only. — **Θετταλία...Ἄρκαδία** : for the attitude of these states towards Athens cf. notes §§ 63, 64. — **ἐκέχρητ' ἄν**, *would have experienced*. Σ and L. read *ἐκέχρηγτ' ἄν*, wh. V. and W. follow, changing *οὐδέτε* to *οὐδέτε* to correspond.

§ 305. **ἄν ὄντες** : the *ἄν* gives a contingent force to the whole sentence, but is to be joined directly w. *ῥέκουν*. — **τῶν** is added to these pronouns to give them a more definite reference : *so many and such blessings as these just mentioned*. The boast that Dem. here makes was really well founded, and seems to be justified by the following sentiment, wh. is said to have been inscribed upon the pedestal of a statue erected to his memory at Athens : —

Εἴπερ ἴσθην ῥώμην γνώμη, Δημόσθενες, εἶχες,  
Οὐποτ' ἄν Ἑλλήνων ἦρξεν Ἄρης Μακεδῶν.

— **πολλά...ἐλάττωσι χρώμαι**, *that I make use of statements falling far short of the facts*. — **λέγε...καὶ ἀνάγνωθι** : a similar coupling of these words is found in § 28, where see note. — **ταυτὶ** : the reference is uncertain, owing to the confused condition of the text. The Editt. of Z. reject the addition *τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν βοθητικῶν κατὰ ἐμὰ ψηφίσματα*, wh. is found in most of the MSS., and understand *ταυτὶ* to refer to certain *ψηφίσματα*. Σ has for the title of the omitted document or documents : **ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ ΒΟΗΘΕΙΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΑ ΕΜΑ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ**; but all the other MSS. (quod sciam) have **ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ ΒΟΗΘΕΙΩΝ**. From the connection we infer that Dem. calls for the reading of such documents as would show how much Athens had done to assist other states in their efforts to retain their freedom against the machinations of Philip.



(d) §§ 306-313. DEM. PLACES THE COWARDLY AND UNPATRIOTIC CONDUCT OF ÆSCH. IN CONTRAST WITH HIS OWN. **δει**: some critics conjecture **ξει** in exact response to the question put in § 301: **Τί χρῆν... ποιεῖν**. — **ὧν κατορθουμένων, κ. τ. έ.**, in the event of the success of which, we should beyond a doubt have been pre-eminently great, and justly so, too. For the genit. absol. used in place of condit. clause cf. note § 30. — **μεγίστοις** agrees w. the implied indirect obj. (**ἡμῖν**) of **ὑπῆρχεν**. With **ὑπῆρχεν** and **προσῆν** many MSS. have **δν**, wh., however, is not essential in such expressions; cf. note on **έξήρκει**, § 196. With **τὸ δικαίως** supply **μεγίστους εἶναι** as subj. of **προσῆν**. — **ὡς έτέρως**: a euphemism for *adversely*. Cf. §§ 85, 212. — **συμβάντων**: genit. absol., denoting concession. — **περίεστι**: whatever we may have lost, there is saved and left over to us from our loss *reputation and honor*.

§ 307. **οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐκ**: thus should the patriotic citizen act, and not, by Zeus, no, not, etc. — **τὸν... ὑποστάντα** is obj. of **βασκαίνειν**, and has depending on it **λέγειν, γράφειν, μένειν**. **ὑποστῆναι** = to put one's shoulders under the burden in contrast w. **ἀποστῆναι** above. — **μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων**, lit. to remain (resting) upon these; i. e. to abide by these. Cf. note § 17. — **ὑπουλον**, insidious. What is the metaphor? — **οὐδέ γ'**, and certainly not. The emphasis of **γέ** falls upon **ἡσυχίαν** as that of wh. he is to speak further. — **δ**, a thing which.

§ 308. **ἀπλῶς**, openly, honestly; as opposed to **ὑπουλον** above. — **μεστοί τοῦ... λέγοντος**, sated of the man who speaks incessantly. It seems that this was possible even in an Athenian Assembly! Dem. refers here to himself, as in those times he must have been unusually active in the debates. — **δύσκολον**, harassing; euphemistic, like **έτέρως**, § 306. — **πολλά δὲ τάνθρώπινα**, and many are the casualties of human life. Kenn. — **ὡσπερ πνεῦμ'**, suddenly, like a gale after a calm, he comes out from his silence as a speaker. Tyler's edition remarks justly that **ἡσυχίας** must be taken in close connection w. **πνεῦμα**, the **έκ** being transitional, as in **τυφλὸς ἐκ δεδορκότος**, Soph. O. T., 454. **έφάνη** is the gnomic aor., the tense expressing the suddenness of the appearance. — **πεφωνασκηῶς**, with well-trained voice. — **συνείρει**, he strings these together clearly and without taking breath. Cf. notes § 280. — **τῷ τυχόντι**: to some one or other of his fellow-citizens.

§ 309. **έμπορίου κατασκευήν**, arrangements for commerce: by obtaining foreign markets and entrepôts for Athens. — **ἀποδειχθεῖσιν**, undisguised.

§ 310. **τούτων... έξέτασις**: the sense is, all this served as the test for patriotic conduct. — **τοῖς ἀνω χρόνοις** means the earlier times of the Republic, in contrast w. **ὁ παρελθὼν χρόνος**, the period just past. — **ἀποδείξεις**, opportunities to prove one's self. — **ἐν οἷς**, i. e. ἐν ἀνδράσι καλοῖς κάγαθοῖς, from the collective sense of **ἀνδρῖ** before. — **φανήσει γεγονός**, you will manifestly

*have been.* By the use of the future the speaker places himself in advance of his own time, and expresses the verdict that posterity will pronounce upon the character of Æsch. — ὀποστοσοῦν, lit. *the any-eth whatever.* The part. οὖν corresponds to the Latin *-cunque.* — ἐπί γ' οἷς, κ. τ. ἐ., *certainly not then connected with what advanced the interests of our country.*

§ 311. οἰκείων : all the departments of public service are named here : *domestic, Grecian, foreign.* — ἐπηνώρθωται, *has been improved.* The addition of διὰ σέ in the Z. edition is wanting in the best MSS., weakens the sentence, and is superfluous in connection w. ἐπέστης and σοῦ πράξαντος. — ποῖαι has a sarcastic force : *what sort of?* As predicate in all these questions we readily supply γεγόνασι σοῦ πράξαντος fr. the first sentence. A similar passage is found in Dinarch. *c. Dem.*, § 96. On its rhetorical power Dissen remarks : “Est autem magna et insignis vis in hac singularum rerum enumeratione et toties repetita interrogatione.” — τίς...βόθθεια χρημάτων, *what financial help of a political and public nature have you ever given either to the wealthy or to the poor?* “The poor were benefited by the alterations wh. Dem. effected in the regulations for the trierarchy; the rich by improvements in the administration of the revenues.” Wh.

§ 312. ᾧ τᾶν = ᾧ λῶστέ; τᾶν is probably an old dialectic vocative of τύ or τύνη = σύ with ν, the old ending, originally μ of the first person, added. Cf. ἐγών. Dem. puts the following rejoinder in the mouth of his opponent : *well, but if I performed nothing of all this, yet I manifested the right spirit, did I not?* — Ἀριστόνικος : the same one mentioned in § 83. — εἰς τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν = εἰς τὴν τῆς ἐπιτιμίας ἀνάληψιν. Cf. note § 288. It appears that Aristonicus had fallen through insolvency into ἀτιμία, that to enable him to regain his lost rights of citizenship his friends made a collection for him, but that he expended for the benefit of the state the money thus contributed. — τῶν Φίλωνος...χρημάτων, *the property of Philo, your brother-in-law.* — πλειόνων, sc. ἐντων : some MSS. and many Editt. read πέντε ταλάντων; then χρημάτων is taken as a partit. genit. (*more than five talents of the property, etc.*), and it is to be inferred that Philo left an estate of extraordinary value. — ἔρανον δωρεάν, *a present made by a joint contribution.* — τῶν ἡγεμόνων : cf. § 103. — ἐφ' οἷς ἐλυμήνω, *for the damage you did to the law of the Trierarchy.* Just in what way and when Æsch., as advocate of the wealthiest class, crippled this law, we have no data fr. wh. to determine.

§ 313. λῆγον ἐκ λόγου, *by speaking of one thing after another.* — ἐκκρούσω, lit. *beat or drive myself out of the present (opportunity).* This he says with respect to the shortness of the time still left him for the remainder of his speech. — τούτοις οἷς : masc., meaning the Macedonians. — νεανίας, *vigorous.* “Youth as the type of (1) *vigor* or (2) *violence* appears in the uses of νεανίας and all its derivations, as the Lexica abundantly testify.” TYLER.

— **λαμπρός**, *brilliant*. When did you condescend to *shine*? The epithet may, however, be more directly applied to his voice, as below in *λαμπροφωνότατος*. — **ἦνικ' ἄν...δέη**, sc. *πράττειν*: many MSS. read *εἰπεῖν* either after *ἄν* or after *τούτων*. — **Θεοκρίνης**, acc. to Harpoer., was a *συκοφάντης*. Diss. explains the allusion thus: like this notorious informer and slanderer, Æsch. pretends to commiserate the fate of those who fell victims to his own intrigues; as e. g. when he deplores the fate of Thebes and of Phocis.

(e) §§ 314–320. DEM. COMPARES HIMSELF AND ÆSCH. WITH THE PUBLIC MEN OF THE PRESENT AND OF FORMER TIMES. **μῆμησαι**: in addition to the citations fr. Æsch. given below, see also those given in connection w. § 208. — **τὴν...εὐνοίαν ὑπάρχουσαν**: for the position of the partic. cf. note § 293. — **προλαβόντα**, *taking advantage of, turning to his own account*.

§ 315. **ὑπεστί**, *there is a certain lurking (ὑπό)*. — **τοὺς τεθνεώτας**: the sentiment “*Nil mortuis nisi bonum*” finds abundant illustration in all literature. So Thuc., II. 45: *τὸν γὰρ οὐκ ὄντα ἅπας εἰωθεν ἐπαιεῖν. φθόνος γὰρ τοῖς ζῶσι πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐμποδῶν ἀνανταγωνίστω εὐνοία τετιμηται*. — **κρίνωμαι**: what use of the mood? Cf. GMT. 287; H. 866, 3; G. 1358; Cu. § 511.

§ 316. **οὐ μὲν...ἤλικας**, *nay, then, one might not say just how great*; sc. these good services of former times were. — **τὰς ἐπι...ἄγειν**, *to subject those that are conferred upon the present generation to thanklessness and contempt*. *ἄγειν* implies that he would thus bring these good deeds out of their true, into a false light. For the prep. *ἐπι* Schaeef. conjectures *περι*, but others defend the use of *ἐπι* in the sense of *intended for, coming to*. (Cf. Funkhaenel in Fleckeisen *Ann. Phil.*, 1858, p. 320.) — **τούτων** is understood by some to refer to the Athenians (= *παρὰ τούτων*, as it is written in all but two MSS.); by others as neuter referring to the collective *τι*, and objective genitive, thus: *the honorable recognition and kindly feeling manifested for this*.

§ 317. **ἄρα**: slightly ironical, as if what he is about to say was already clearly enough understood. — **ταῦτά βουλομένη**, *aiming at the same objects*. — **ταῖς**, sc. *πολιτεία καὶ προαιρέσει*. — **κατ' ἐκείνους**: cf. § 17. Some MSS. add *τοὺς χρόνους*. — **οἱ διασύροντες...δὲ...ἐπήγουν**: for this irregularity of construction cf. note on *ὑπολαμβάνοντες...τοῦτο δ' ἐώρων*, § 287. This anacoluthon doubtless caused the reading *οἱ διέσυρον μὲν* found in many MSS. and adopted by Dind., Bekk., and others. The antithesis in the idea is brought out more forcibly by the inversion of the order of subj. and obj.

§ 318. **ἀδελφὸς**: Æsch. had two brothers, Philochares, who was distinguished for military service (Æsch. *de F. L.*, § 149), and Aphobetus (Dem.

*de F. L.*, § 237), who was a somewhat prominent politician. Diss. thinks the orator refers here to the former, but W. thinks to the latter. — ἴνα... εἶπω, i. e. than χρῆστέ. In the same vein of sarcasm he calls the entire Macedonian party in § 89 οἱ χρῆστοί. — τοὺς καθ' αὐτόν, *those of his own age*. The reflexive refers back to the object τὸν ζῶντα.

§ 319. ὁ Φιλάμμων... ἀνηγορεύετο : see Introduction, p. xv, for the singular anticipation of this point by Æsch. in the extract given below. Philaemon, acc. to Harpocration, was a famous Athenian boxer and athlete, who was evidently well known to the orator's audience. — Γλαύκου : Glaucus flourished about 470 B. C., and is said to have gained the prize for boxing twice in the Pythian, eight times in the Nemean, and as often in the Isthmian games. Cf. Pausan., VI. 10. 3. — ἀσθενέστερος ἢ... ἀπήει... ἄριστα ἐμάχετο... ἐστεφανούτο : the thought by being presented in this two-fold way, first negatively and then positively, is made very clear and emphatic. — οὐδένα, *I shrink from no one* ; i. e. *from a comparison with no one*. So κινδύνον ἐκστήναι = *to shrink from danger*. Cf. Dem. *Lept.*, § 10. But ἐξίσταμαι οὐδενί, wh. is the reading of many edit., = *I yield to no one*. Cf. Soph. *Philoct.*, 1042 : νῦν δὲ σοὶ γ' ἐκὼν ἐκστήσομαι. — ὦν : partit. genitive. Cf. note § 298.

§ 320. ἐφαμίλλου : deriv.? *When loyalty to the fatherland lay open for competition in common to all*. — κράτιστα = ἄριστα here ; some MSS. read βέλτιστα. — καὶ... καὶ... καὶ... καὶ, *and... not only, but also... and*. — τοῦτοίς, i. e. the Athenians. — ἄ... ὄφελε : cf. note § 288. — ἕτερον, *another*, i. e. a *foreigner*, meaning Philip. So in § 323 ἐτέρων refers to the Macedonians, and ἕτερος to Alexander. — ἐξέτασις, sc. ἦν : here ἐξέτασις does not mean *trial, test*, as in § 310, but rather *an inquiry for, demand for* ; as if the Macedonian party at Athens were mustering into their ranks the best men they could find for leaders. — ἐν τάξει... μέγας, *all of you were in rank grand people, with splendid equipages*. Kenn. "In a rocky country with a poor soil like Attica, horse-keeping was a sign of wealth. In fact it was so expensive in Athens, that in the time of Aristophanes it was a ready road to ruin for moderate incomes." Wh. Hence W. thinks that in the use of *ἵπποτρόφος* there lies an allusion to Æsch. expensive style of living at that time.

(f) §§ 321-323. THE CONDUCT OF EACH ORATOR AS A PATRIOTIC CITIZEN FINALLY CONTRASTED. τὸν φύσει μέτριον : Lord B. renders by *the citizen of ordinary worth*. μέτριον seems to be used here, as in § 10, to avoid giving offence, and = *respectable fair*. φύσει seems to be used in the sense of *naturally*, i. e. *what is in the capacity of human nature*, as opposed to the superhuman and the supernatural. So also Professor Tyler interprets it. The phrase then means *the reasonably good citizen*, φύσει limiting



μέτριον. "This seems to accord better with the signification of the words and the demands of the context, than *the well-disposed citizen*, wh. is the reading of Kenn. and Wh., but which is too nearly *identical* w. εὐνοια, one of the things that the citizen must possess." TYLER. — ἀνεπιφθονώτατον, *least invidious*. — ἐν...ταῖς ἐξουσίαις, *when in authority*. So Aristot. *Ethic.*, II. 3. 3 : οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις = *those who are in supreme authority*. — τὴν...προαίρεσιν διαφυλάττειν, *to maintain for the state her pursuit of what is magnanimous and what promotes her precedence*. — τὴν εὐνοίαν, *the spirit of loyalty*, sc. διαφυλάττειν. — τούτου = τοῦ εὐνοεῖν. A man has it in his own control whether he will be patriotic or not ; but whether he can increase the *power* of his country, this often lies beyond his control. — ταύτην = τὴν εὐνοίαν.

§ 322. ἐξαιτούμενος : cf. note on ἐξητούμην, § 41. — Ἀμφικτυονικὰς δίκας : the insertion of εἰς in Σ before these words gives the unusual constr. of ἐπάγειν τινὰ εἰς δίκην. The precise nature of these *Amphictyonic suits* is not clear. From the statement of Pausanias, VII. 10. 10, it appears that to the Amphictyonic council was given jurisdiction over any cases of active opposition against Philip, in violation of the articles of agreement made at the Congress of Corinth. A. Schaefer, III. 198, understands Dem. to refer to attempts that were made to bring him to trial before this council on a charge of active co-operation in the Spartan revolt, 330 B. C. Dissen thinks Dem. refers to the time when Philip was Amphictyonic general and he (Dem.) was charged with being his open antagonist. Jacobs understands the allusion to be to the same time that Alexander demanded the surrender of Dem. just referred to by ἐξαιτούμενος. — οὐκ ἐπαγγελλομένων, *not when they made overtures* ; alluding to attempts to gain him over by bribes. Most texts have οὐκ ἀπειλούντων before οὐκ ἐπ., but this, besides being omitted fr. Σ, violates the exact correspondence of these clauses. — προσβαλλόντων, *not when they set these accursed wretches like wild beasts upon me*. — ὀρθὴν...δικαίαν are in the predicate position and must be rendered accordingly. — θεραπεύειν is in explanation of ὀδόν, and accus. in apposition with it.

§ 323. οὐκ ἐπὶ μὲν...τῶν δὲ : the force of the negative extends over both parts of the sentence. Cf. οὐ...μὲν δύναται...ἐμὲ δέ, § 13. — γεγηθῶς...περιέρχομαι...προτείνων : what a graphic picture of a man who goes about exulting and congratulating partisans over some piece of good news just received ; and how vividly the terms πεφρικῶς, στένων, κύπτων represent an opposite state of mind ! — ἐκέισε, *thither*, i. e. to Macedon. — ἔξω δὲ βλέπουσι, *and look abroad*, with longing hopes of personal preferment at the hands of foreigners. — ἐν οἷς...ἕτερος : notice the double antithesis in this brief sentence.

§ 324. PERORATION. ὦ πάντες θεοί : the oration closes, as it began, w.

an invocation to the gods. — **ἐξώλεις καὶ προώλεις** : ἐξ gives the idea of *utterly*, πρό of *speedily*, i. e. before they have accomplished our ruin. This expression is a standing form of imprecation. So *de F. L.*, § 172 : ἐξώλης ἀπολοιμην καὶ προώλης, and elsewhere. *By no means, O ye gods, one and all, by no means sanction this conduct ; but above all implant within these men a better mind and purpose ! But if they are indeed incorrigible, cause utter and swift destruction by land and sea to come upon them, and them alone ; and grant to the rest of us a most speedy deliverance from our impending terrors, and an unshaken security !* The impressive and simple beauty of this peroration has won the admiration of all critics. “The music of the closing passage,” says Lord B., “is almost as fine as the sense is impressive and grand, and the manner dignified and calm.” In marked contrast with most of this criticism is the peroration of Æsch., which alone by itself justifies the famous comparison of Æsch. style with that of Dem. given by Quintilian : “Plenior Æschines, et magis fusus, et grandiori similis, quominus strictus est ; carnis tamen plus habet, minus lacertorum.”

APPENDIX.





## ABSTRACT OF THE ORATION OF ÆSCHINES.



EXORDIUM. (§§ 1–8.) Æschines complains of the frequent disregard of the ancient regulations concerning the conduct of affairs in the popular Assembly and in the courts, and warns the jurors to maintain well the institution of the *γραφὴ παρανόμων* as the safeguard of popular government, and to remember in this trial that the liberties of all the citizens are committed to their care.

I. CTESIPHON HAS VIOLATED THE LAW IN PROPOSING TO CROWN DEMOSTHENES WHILE HE WAS STILL ACCOUNTABLE FOR HIS OFFICES AS COMMISSIONER OF WALLS AND TREASURER OF THE THEORIC FUND. (§§ 9–31.)

§§ 9–12. The law of *accountability* provides that no public officer shall be honored with crowns or declarations of praise until he shall have passed the legal examination at the expiration of his term of office. This law was aimed at those who, previous to this examination, managed to have preliminary votes of praise or public honors proclaimed for them. It was sometimes evaded by a proposal made prior to the examination, to crown a public official “when his accounts shall have been approved.” But Ctesiphon manifests his utter contempt of law in that he proposes to crown Demosthenes without adding any such proviso.

§§ 13–16. But there is another evasion of the law to which the defence will have recourse. The offices to which Demosthenes was appointed, they will claim, are simply *commissions*

or *agencies*, not *magistracies*; and the law applies only to *magistracies* properly so called. But the law declares that all offices whatsoever shall be accounted magistracies; hence this claim is a wretched piece of sophistry.

§§ 17-24. The argument upon which Demosthenes relies as unanswerable is, that he made donations of his own means to the public, and that he cannot be held to an account, unless one is to be made responsible for his benefactions. But the law exempts from giving account no one who has the smallest part in the affairs of the state. This is shown in the case of different officials. The law also forbids the man who has not passed the accounts to dedicate any part of his effects to religious purposes, or in any way to alienate his property. If Demosthenes's claim of having made a donation to the state in the expenditure of money upon the fortifications is valid, why did he not give the customary opportunity of scrutinizing his accounts? It is proved that Demosthenes was actually in office at the time that this decree was proposed.

§§ 25-27. While the laws expressly forbid the crowning of one in any office, even of the smallest consequence, before his accounts have been approved, Ctesiphon presumes to confer this honor on Demosthenes when, by virtue of his offices, he was responsible for every kind of public magistracy.

§§ 28-31. By defining the various kinds of magistracies, it is shown that those officials also who are appointed by the tribes come within the intent of the law. Demosthenes was appointed by his tribe; and therefore this case is clearly a violation of the law.

II. CTESIPHON HAS VIOLATED THE LAW IN ORDERING THE CROWN TO BE PROCLAIMED IN THE THEATRE AT THE GREAT DIONYSIA. (§§ 32-48.)

§§ 32-40. The law of *proclamation* provides that a crown granted by the people shall be proclaimed in the Pnyx at the

meeting of the Ecclesia, never in any other place. But the defence will quote the so-called Dionysiac law, which permits the proclamation of such a crown in the theatre when the new tragedies are exhibited, provided the people so determine by vote. On this law, the defence will plead, Ctesiphon has founded his decree. But this is directly contradictory to the former law; and with our regulations for inspecting laws, two that are contradictory cannot coexist.

§§ 41-45. The purpose of this Dionysiac law was to do away with the abuse of proclaiming in the theatre crowns that were conferred by a tribe or by a deme, and also of announcing the manumission of slaves. But this law provides that crowns conferred upon Athenian citizens by *foreign states* may be proclaimed in the theatre, after first obtaining the consent of the Athenian Assembly. The Dionysiac law, therefore, has nothing to do with the law of proclamation in the case of crowns conferred by the Athenian people.

§§ 46-48. That this interpretation of the Dionysiac law is correct, is confirmed by the distinction made between the crown proclaimed in the theatre and that proclaimed in the Assembly, since the former must be dedicated to Athena, while the latter may be retained by the possessor as a memorial for his family.

III. CTESIPHON HAS VIOLATED THE LAW IN PROPOSING TO CROWN DEMOSTHENES ON THE GROUND THAT HE AIMS CONSTANTLY IN ALL HIS WORDS AND DEEDS AT THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE STATE, BECAUSE THIS GROUND IS FALSE, AND IT IS CONTRARY TO THE LAWS TO INSERT FALSE STATEMENTS IN THE PUBLIC DECREES. EXAMINATION OF THE CHARACTER AND CAREER OF DEMOSTHENES. (§§ 49-176.)

A. §§ 51-53. INSINUATIONS AGAINST THE PERSONAL CHARACTER OF DEMOSTHENES.

B. §§ 54-176. THE PUBLIC CAREER OF DEMOSTHENES EXAMINED AND CONDEMNED.

(a.) FIRST PERIOD OF DEMOSTHENES'S CAREER, FROM THE WAR ABOUT AMPHIPOLIS, 358 B. C., TO THE PEACE OF PHILOCRATES, 346 B. C. (§§ 58 - 78.)

§§ 58 - 61. Demosthenes is responsible for the peace of Philocrates. By precipitating the negotiations connected with this peace, without waiting for the return of our deputies, he prevented the allies of Athens from being parties to the peace, and betrayed Cersobleptes, king of Thrace, the friend and ally of this state, into the hands of Philip.

§§ 62 - 74. A more particular description of the manner and means by which these results were secured, through the co-operation of Demosthenes with Philocrates.

§§ 75 - 78. The conduct of Demosthenes is disgraceful in flattering the envoys of Philip; is shameless in pretending that the death of Philip was foretold him by a divine vision; is heartless in so speedily forgetting his grief for the loss of a child.

(b.) EXAMINATION OF THE SECOND PERIOD OF THE CAREER OF DEMOSTHENES, FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE PEACE OF PHILOCRATES, 346 B. C., UNTIL ITS END, 340 B. C. (§§ 79 - 105.)

§§ 79 - 83. The disastrous results of the peace of Philocrates are chargeable to Demosthenes, since he and Philocrates were the first movers and supporters of the peace. In order to free himself from this charge, he inveighs against his colleagues in the embassy and against Philip, thus procuring the condemnation of Philocrates, and gaining for himself the reputation of being a patriot.

Demosthenes is disposed to cavil about small points.

§§ 84 - 105. Examination of the boast of Demosthenes, that in gaining the Eubœans and Thebans as allies he surrounded the city as with walls of adamant. First, as to the alliance with the Eubœans. The generous conduct of Athens in freeing Eubœa from the occupation of the Thebans was basely requited by the inhabitants of Chalcis in attempting to destroy the Athenian



forces that came to assist Plutarch, the tyrant of Eretria. This attempt was headed by Callias (whose praises Demosthenes is bribed to sing), and was a failure. Callias, with whom we became reconciled again, afterwards contrives (by lavishing gold on Demosthenes) to obtain an alliance for Chalcis with Athens, by which Athens was obliged to take up arms on every occasion in defence of the Chalcidians. Callias and Demosthenes contrive to defraud the state of the contributions from Oreus and from Eretria, amounting to ten talents. This fraud was perpetrated under pretence that great preparations were in progress for a general attack of all the Peloponnesian states upon Philip, and that these Eubœan cities should use the tribute ordinarily paid to Athens to equip themselves for participation in this attack. Bribes influenced Demosthenes to aid these schemes of Callias.

(c.) THIRD PERIOD OF THE CAREER OF DEMOSTHENES EXAMINED, FROM THE CLOSE OF THE PEACE, 340 B. C., TO THE BATTLE OF CHÆRONEA, 338 B. C. (§§ 106 - 158.)

- §§ 106 - 136. The offence of Demosthenes against the sanctuary of Delphi in the affair of the Locrians of Amphissa. (1.) The account of the destruction of the port of Cirrha and of the consecration of the Cirrhæan plain. (2.) The Locrians of Amphissa restore the harbor and cultivate this district, in violation of the mandate of the god. Demosthenes is bribed by the Amphissians to defend their impiety before the Amphictyonic Council. (3.) In this Council the Amphissians charge Athens with sacrilege in depositing certain shields in a new temple at Delphi before it was finished. Æschines, as the Athenian deputy, defends the city, and in turn charges the Amphissians with sacrilege. (4.) The Amphictyonic Council resolves on the spot to punish the Amphissians. A conflict between them ensues, in which the latter come off victorious. A resolution is passed by the Council calling a special session to provide means for pun-

ishing them. (5.) Demosthenes contrived to have a decree passed by which the Athenian deputies were forbidden to meet with the Amphictyons at this extraordinary session. (6.) In this session it was resolved to undertake a war against the Amphisians. A fine was imposed upon them ; but since it was not paid, a second expedition was made, when Philip was on his return from the Scythian campaign. Of the leadership in this holy war Athens was deprived by the corruption of Demosthenes. (7.) Demosthenes has involved the state in numerous calamities. Since he first assumed the administration of affairs, Thebes has been destroyed, the Lacedæmonians brought under the subjection of Alexander, and Athens, once the common refuge of the Greeks, forced to contend for her existence.

§§ 137 – 158. The alliance with Thebes considered. (1.) It was not Demosthenes, but the common danger from the proximity of Philip, that united Athens and Thebes. (2.) In the negotiations for this alliance Demosthenes committed three capital offences against the state : First, he made Athens assist in placing all Bœotia in the power of Thebes, caused Athens to bear two thirds of the expenses of the war conjointly waged, gave the command of the land force entirely to Thebes, and divided the control of the fleet. His second offence consists in taking away the proper authority of our Assembly and Senate, by giving the magistrates of Bœotia a share in all councils. His third and most heinous offence is that, by opposing the Theban magistrates in their desire to conclude a peace with Philip, to which the latter was also himself inclined, he is responsible for the disastrous results of the battle of Chæronea. In crowning Demosthenes you crown the author of this slaughter, you perpetuate your own disgrace, and you recall to mind the misfortunes and sufferings of the wretched Thebans.

(d.) FOURTH PERIOD OF THE CAREER OF DEMOSTHENES EXAM-

INED, FROM CHERONEA, 338 B. C., DOWN TO THE PRESENT MOMENT, 330 B. C. (§§ 159 - 176.)

§§ 159 - 167. After the battle Demosthenes fled from the city, under pretence of collecting taxes. Upon his return he was full of fear. While he was not allowed by you to append his own name to any decree, he procured through others the passage of decrees honoring the murderer of Philip. He ridiculed Alexander, when at a distance; but when sent on an embassy to him, while he was investing Thebes, afraid to proceed farther than Mount Cithæron, he ran back to Athens. And finally he sold himself to Alexander, as is shown from his neglect to improve three occasions for opposing him.

§§ 168 - 176. Demosthenes is shown to be neither a friend of free government nor a patriot, when the proper tests are applied to his life and character.

IV. CONSIDERATIONS DRAWN FROM PRECEDENTS WITH REFERENCE TO THE CROWNING AND TO THE MODE OF CONDUCTING THIS TRIAL. (§§ 177 - 214.)

§§ 177 - 190. In the most illustrious period of the republic, when the citizens displayed the greatest merit, public honors were sparingly bestowed. To confer honors frequently is to make them cheap.

§§ 191 - 214. In former times there was much greater reverence paid the laws, and much greater severity in trying indictments for illegal decrees. Precedents were not cited by way of justifying violations of law. Even friends brought prosecutions against friends, in every case in which the state was injured. The question how far a citizen may honestly and regularly plead for an offender is considered.

A law should be passed forbidding the employment of advocates in suits for illegality, as the merits of such suits are not vague. The jurors are cautioned against any attempt on the part of Ctesiphon to evade the real issue. Æschines reviews the order

he has pursued in his speech, and charges the jurors to oblige Demosthenes to follow the same method in his defence, and to hold him rigidly to the points in question. Demosthenes will wail, revile, and swear, and all for the sake of a crown and proclamation. Ctesiphon and Demosthenes, while pretending to have no concern for themselves, express grave apprehensions for each other, and ought therefore not to be acquitted by their common judges.

V. ANTICIPATIONS OF CERTAIN CHARGES ABOUT TO BE MADE BY HIS OPPONENT. (§§ 215 – 229.)

Demosthenes will charge me with criminal silence, and with bringing a prosecution against his whole administration at this late day, after having neglected to impeach him at the time of his misdeeds. My silence has been owing to my life of abstinence, while, on the contrary, his speaking has been prompted by a desire for money to expend upon his extravagant indulgences. Besides, to speak occasionally is a proof that a man engages in public life as necessity requires; but to harangue from day to day shows that he makes debating a trade. As to the second charge, he cannot have forgotten how publicly I convicted him of impious conduct with respect to the Amphissians, and of corrupt practices in the affairs of Eubœa; and we can never forget how, as was shown by me at the time, he defrauded the city of sixty-five ships, when the armament of three hundred had been intrusted to him. His comparing me with the Sirens would come with better grace from a man whose only instrument is not his tongue.

VI. RECAPITULATION OF THE MAIN POINTS OF THE ARGUMENT. (§§ 230 – 259.)

(1.) §§ 230 – 235. The illegality of the decree, the character of Demosthenes, the reputation of the judges for consistency and honesty, and the safety of the republic, demand the conviction of the defendant.



(2.) §§ 236 – 240. Neither the clause that he surrounded the city with excellent fortifications, nor the general statement of his merits as a statesman, furnishes good reason for crowning him. For in building the fortifications he did the city no genuine service, since it was he who made them necessary. And the general statement is untrue; of which fact new proof is furnished by his diverting the seventy talents sent by Persia from the public service into his own coffers.

(3.) §§ 241 – 254. Demosthenes should not be suffered to speak his own praises. To crown him would be to disgrace the brave men of old who were crowned for their valor, and the memory of those who fell in battle; and would corrupt the youth by setting a pernicious example before them. Men who are so ready to lay claim to loyalty and patriotism must be required to produce evidence of their merit. The republic is endangered by the pretensions of these men, which serve them as a cloak for their schemes.

(4.) §§ 255 – 259. The judges are exhorted to confer their honors with a scrupulous delicacy, and not to be influenced by the arrogant pretensions of Demosthenes. Solon, Aristides, Themistocles, and the heroes of Marathon and Plataea, are appealed to as arrayed against the villany of Demosthenes and of his associates.

#### VII. PERORATION. (§ 260.)

If I have not spoken as I wished, I have spoken as I could. Do ye decide what is just and beneficial to the state, not only from what has been said, but also from what has been left unsaid.











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